



Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-91-005
Tuesday
8 January 1991

Daily Report Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-91-005

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NOTICE TO READERS: As of 2 January 1991, television sourcelines in the DAILY REPORT will reflect how a station identifies itself. In most cases, this change eliminates the "Television Service" designation in favor of the station identification as broadcast. The presence of a new television sourceline reflects this change in policy, rather than the establishment of a new station or network.

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Petrovskiy Meets With FRG, Canadian Envoys on Gulf
*LD0801084791 Moscow TASS in English 0815 GMT
8 Jan 91*

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy on Monday received German Ambassador Klaus Blech at the latter's request.

They had a detailed discussion of the situation in the Gulf. The Soviet side reaffirmed its support for the respective U.N. Security Council resolutions adopted after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

The need to fill the time remaining before the January 15 deadline, set by Security Council Resolution 678, with most energetic diplomatic efforts to avert a war was emphasised.

The forthcoming meeting in Geneva between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz is welcomed in the Soviet Union and viewed as a real chance to achieve a political settlement of the crisis, Petrovskiy said.

"We also regard as extremely useful and timely the initiative of the European Community countries, which suggested a meeting with an Iraqi representative, proceeding from the assumption that such bilateral and multilateral contacts will bring to the notice of the Iraqi leadership with utmost clarity the international community's determination to see the unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait, Petrovskiy said.

The Gulf crisis was also discussed during a meeting with Canadian Ambassador Richard Bell on the same day.

The two ambassadors were told about the Soviet Union's efforts through bilateral and multilateral channels towards settling the crisis as soon as possible from positions of common sense and observance of the norms of international law.

CEMA Executives End Session; More Talks Planned

Sitaryan Comments on Reorganization

*LD0501193991 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT
5 Jan 91*

[Report on news conference at the close of the CEMA Executive Committee meeting in Moscow on 5 January including recorded remarks by S.A. Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A regular meeting of the CEMA countries' executive committee ended in Moscow today. It decided to radically reorganize the organization. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, created in January 1949, will cease to exist after exactly 42 years. It was

announced at a news conference on the results of the 134th meeting of the CEMA executive committee, which ended today, that it is to be converted into a new international organization.

[Begin Sitaryan recording] CEMA has run its course in the form in which it has existed until now, and no longer corresponds with current economic and social conditions for the development of its countries.

The second point is that these countries are bound to each other by certain economic bonds, and it would not be to the benefit of any of these countries to rupture and discard them at the drop of a hat. [end recording]

Unlike CEMA, the new organization will not be engaged in the coordination of the national economic plans of its member countries. Its main protagonists will be not governments, but individual enterprises, concerns, and industries which desire to cooperate for their mutual benefit. Accounting between the countries of this former socialist commonwealth is to be converted to hard currency and world prices. The new way is fraught with many problems, but it has many advantages, too. At any rate, almost all the countries are agreeable to cooperating on these conditions.

The meeting has ended, but that is not CEMA's official funeral. The 46th session of the council is due to assemble in Budapest at the end of February, when the blueprint, the charter and the name of CEMA's successor will be confirmed. It is expected to be called the Organization for International Economic Cooperation.

Leaders To Debate Future 9 Jan

*PM0801101191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Jan 91 Second Edition p 7*

[Unattributed report from "Day by Day" preview of the coming week]

[Text] A two-day meeting of CEMA countries' prime ministers opens in the Bulgarian capital 9 January. The main theme of the talks will be the trade and economic organization's future during the period of the East European countries' transition to a market economy.

FRG Invited to CEMA Session

*PM0801093191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jan 91 Second Edition p 4*

[Unattributed report under the "Abroad" rubric: "ZDF TV (Germany)"]

[Text] The CEMA Executive Committee has decided to invite the FRG to the last session of this organization in Budapest at the end of February. It was thus emphasized that the FRG is not only morally and politically but also juridically the heir of the former GDR, with which the CEMA countries maintained intensive economic relations.

United States & Canada

IZVESTIYA Reports Bush's Policy Statements

PM0401131791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian

4 Jan 91 Union Edition p 1

[Commentary by IZVESTIYA United States correspondents Vladimir Nadeik and Aleksandr Shalnev: "Priorities of American Policy"]

[Text] U.S. President G. Bush believes that his country has not come up against a problem of such significance as the invasion of Kuwait since World War II. Bush made this statement during an interview with PBC television correspondent Frost. Since the interview was actually recorded in advance, back on 16 December, the assessments made in it must be seen as considered, pertinent views that have required no amendment in the past two weeks.

Despite the impetuous pace of events, the priorities of U.S. policy during this time have undergone no major changes. This applies first and foremost to events in the Persian Gulf—here the President once again expressed the firm belief that military action will rapidly ensue if Saddam Husayn does not lead his forces out unconditionally. In doing so Bush did not begrudge time or words to explain why he believes in the categorical need to stop Husayn without rewarding him with a single inch of the captured land.

Second, it, applies to the situation in the Soviet Union. Bush called relations with our country very good, stating specifically that these good relations with the Soviet Union include personal good relations with President Gorbachev.

Bush said that in his opinion the situation in the Soviet Union is becoming increasingly complex and that he is not sure that "the worst is yet over for him" (M.S. Gorbachev). For this reason the United States "together with other countries" will carry on granting assistance to the USSR for the success of perestroika.

The President also stressed the importance of relations with the USSR as a unified state. "Because of nuclear weapons?" Frost asked. The President named this as one of the important reasons, but not the only one.

It is worth mentioning that E. Shevardnadze's announcement of his resignation occurred between the time that this interview was recorded and the time it was broadcast. In a situation in which the reasons for and consequences of this step are continuing to be discussed in the mass media here with more or less the same intensity as a week ago, G. Bush's utterances take on the character of clear political signal....

During the television interview, George Bush admitted for the first time that the U.S. economy is going through a recession. He noted that the recession has not affected the United States as a whole, however, but is restricted to

only certain areas of the country. But the very fact that the head of the White House admitted the critical nature of the economic situation is noteworthy.

It is even more noteworthy that the President used the word "recession" when giving his assessment of the situation. Senior Administration officials, including White House spokesmen, have tried to avoid this word in every way in their public statements, knowing how charged it is with serious psychological consequences for businessmen and ordinary consumers.

Officials spoke of "deceleration," "slowdown," and "decreasing rate," but no one dared to call a spade a spade until Bush himself did so.

One of the factors that led the President to publicly admit the obvious was probably the fact that, according to estimates prepared within the Administration, in the fourth quarter of the past year the rate of growth in the U.S. economy was negative and GNP decreased by 3.4 percent over the year. Furthermore, the Administration is predicting a negative growth of 1.3 percent for the first quarter of this year.

These estimates were worked out by government experts in the process of drawing up the draft federal budget for Fiscal 1992, which Bush will have to submit for examination by Congress in January-February. The authors of these pessimistic predictions, which, incidentally, coincide with the predictions of private economists, include Bush's top advisers: Michael Boskin, head of the presidential economic council; Richard Darman, director of the Office of Management and Budget; and Nicholas Brady, secretary of the treasury.

Citing these assessments, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL points out that "forecasts made by the White House are usually more optimistic" than forecasts made by independent economists. This time the White House was obviously short on optimism.

As for the "detached" economists, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, carrying out a poll among 40 of the most authoritative of them, notes the real prospects of "developing recession" until the middle of this year. According to experts the present recession, which the Administration has only now resolved to admit, began in the third quarter of last year. The average duration of each of the eight recessions that America has encountered in the period since World War II has been 11 months. But the present recession, some of those whom the newspaper polled believe, could turn out to be far more serious than many others—primarily because America as a whole and its citizens in particular have run up enormous debts.

The forecast of severe recession was also dictated to a significant degree by foreign policy factors. They include instability in the Near East and the danger of military conflict in the Persian Gulf. The situation in the Soviet Union, to which the participants in THE WALL STREET JOURNAL poll are reacting with unease, is also being taken into account here.

Prospects for Changed U.S. Relations Eyed

LD0701164691 Moscow TASS in English 1603 GMT
7 Jan 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Mikhail Ivanov and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow January 7 TASS—White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater's announcement of the forthcoming visit by the U.S. President to the USSR at a different time would have hardly become a subject for comment and would be regarded simply as an official confirmation of the U.S. readiness for another Soviet-American summit.

This time, however, it was far from accidental and prompted a new media debate on the future of Soviet-American relations.

Recently, many Western observers expressed concern about a possible slowing down of the Soviet-American dialogue.

Their concern was mostly prompted by a surprise resignation by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze—one of the key architects of the new Soviet foreign policy, who stood behind recent positive changes in Soviet-American relations.

In spite of statements by President Mikhail Gorbachev, a corresponding resolution of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and statements by Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman that Soviet foreign policy will remain unchanged, the most stubborn analysts continued to press their point.

Some even spoke about a "coolness" in U.S. President George Bush's New Year message to the Soviet people. Many Western diplomats accredited in Moscow, however, did not notice this and said that both messages were equally warm.

Recently, the Soviet and U.S. leaders had a phone conversation to discuss interaction between the Soviet Union and the United States, including in the Gulf.

According to Fitzwater's statement about the content of the telephone talk, the White House did not notice any change in the Soviet position on the issue.

This is important, because Shevardnadze's resignation prompted rumours about possible changes in the Soviet Gulf policy.

Shevardnadze's influence on the Soviet-American dialogue should not be underestimated—the human factor is very important in politics.

Shevardnadze won respect because of his active and deft diplomacy and his ability to tackle complex issues, a senior Western diplomat said recently in Moscow.

The Soviet foreign minister remains in his office and his resignation has yet to be confirmed.

Good personal relations between politicians are really very important and many would want Shevardnadze to remain U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's partner (at least until February 11).

It has to be remembered that President Gorbachev persuaded Shevardnadze to remain on the job until a new foreign minister is appointed. This means that Shevardnadze can stay until February 11.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman, however, declined to answer if Shevardnadze will take part in the Soviet-American summit, saying that one has to wait for the forthcoming legislative session, which is expected to form a new cabinet of ministers.

It was Eduard Shevardnadze who met U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union Jack Matlock on January 4, however. A day before, Shevardnadze met Mikhail Gorbachev. In the past few days the two have maintained regular working contacts over the phone.

Anyway, although the Soviet foreign minister plays a very important role, Soviet foreign policy is determined by the president.

The United States is prepared to work with the Soviet foreign minister and it is up to the Soviet Union to decide on who will be its foreign minister, a senior Western diplomat recently said in Moscow.

Yanayev Addresses Joint Legislative Conference

LD0701184991 Moscow TASS in English 1822 GMT
7 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow January 7 TASS—A Soviet-American conference on legislative democracy and constitutionalism, which opened in Moscow today, is the first Soviet-American forum, in which Gennadiy Yanayev participated in his new capacity: He was recently elected Soviet vice-president.

Speaking to reporters during an interval between [word indistinct] Yanayev stressed: "The experience accumulated in relations between the two chambers of the U.S. Congress and the American President should be thoroughly studied.

"This event is unique, thanks to the fact that it gives a chance to speak frankly about our mutual benefits.

"This open and direct dialogue is very valuable and, if we learn how to derive benefits from such scientific events and then to materialise them, the process of establishing our political system will make big headway."

Asked by TASS what place Soviet-American relations will occupy in the vice-president's activities, Yanayev pointed to the importance of developing Soviet-American relations "at all levels and at all channels."

"I believe that it is important to stress the inviolability of this priority now that an ambiguous situation has developed with the Soviet foreign minister," he said. "Some people guided by Shevardnadze's statement at the fourth USSR Congress of People's Deputies began to draw conclusions about an alleged 'change in the Soviet foreign policy'."

"I would like to use this opportunity to say that the Soviet foreign policy, irrespective of who will head the Soviet Foreign Ministry, will be the same, as over the past five years."

The Soviet foreign policy will be determined by new political thinking and the primacy of human values, he added.

Asked what he thinks about possible candidates for the post of foreign minister singled out in the West, Yanayev noted: "Speaking about policy and personnel issues, I have never and nowhere said that there would be a new foreign minister".

"Why do you preclude a chance of Shevardnadze remaining the foreign minister?" Yanayev asked.

Northeast Asia

Rogachev Visits ROK To Examine Regional Issues

Arrives 5 Jan

LD0501163191 Moscow TASS in English 1607 GMT 5 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow January 5 TASS—Igor Rogachev, Soviet deputy foreign minister and special representative of the Soviet president, left for the Republic of Korea today.

During his visit to Seoul Soviet-South Korean consultations on international problems will be held, including the situation in the region, as well as on a further development of bilateral relations.

Interviewed on DPRK-ROK Relations

SK0701051191 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 6 Jan 91

[Commentary by Moscow radio commentator (Kiril) Mikhaylov from "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] In an interview with the South Korean paper TONG-A ILBO, Igor Rogachev stressed that the United States should improve relations with the DPRK as soon as possible and if it does, durable peace can be ensured in Northeast Asia.

The Soviet diplomat pointed out in the interview that recent development around the Korean peninsula shows an affirmative trend.

Talks at the prime minister level were held between the North and the South. The Soviet Union and the ROK

established diplomatic relations, and Beijing and Seoul reached an agreement on mutually establishing trade missions. It also has been learned that talks between Japan and North Korea will be held some time this month. In the talks, the issue of establishing diplomatic relations between these two countries will be discussed.

Igor Rogachev said that in view of these developments, only the United States is lagging behind in this process.

To our regret, several occasions of meetings between the U.S. and North Korean side for the past two years in Beijing have failed to achieve any results.

It is clear that the development of dialogue between Pyongyang and Washington will positively improve the situation on the peninsula, however. For example, the nuclear question, which served as a great hindrance not only to dialogue between the North and the South but also to the establishment of diplomatic relations between Pyongyang and Tokyo, will be resolved.

As has been known, despite the fact that the DPRK participated in the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in 1985, the DPRK has not permitted field inspection of its nuclear facilities by international organs. The DPRK has maintained such a stubborn stand by using as a pretext the U.S.-made nuclear weapons deployed in the South of the peninsula.

The nuclear weapons are one of the causes aggravating the situation on the peninsula. This question can be resolved only by joint efforts between the United States and the DPRK. The proposal for denuclearization of the peninsula, which was put forward by North Korea and has been supported by Moscow and Beijing, will play an affirmative role in the resolution of this question.

There is another cause: the Team Spirit military exercise staged every year between the United States and the ROK. As is known, this military exercise spoiled the North-South dialogue not only once or twice.

The North side considers this exercise an act directly threatening its security. The promise of Washington and Seoul that they will reduce the scale and cycle of the exercise does not satisfy Pyongyang. This question cannot be settled without the participation of the United States.

In short, the political and military role which Washington should play in resolving the Korean question cannot be argued about. Such role becomes more clear when one takes into consideration the fact that the United States keeps 40,000-odd U.S. troops in South Korea.

The United States declared that it will reduce some of its Armed Forces deployed in the ROK. Their essential nature [ponjil] will not change, however. Because enormous distrust and antagonism have been accumulated, one can hardly expect that the development of dialogue between the United States and the DPRK will be easily realized.

It is clear, however, that unless the two nations keep step with each other in developing dialogue today, their relations will continually remain in the corner. Only when the two sides free themselves from the stereotyped way of (?thinking) which they maintained during the cold war era, can their dialogue be successful.

As the realities proved, in settling complex international problems, a new attitude and new way of thinking are necessary. The reality on the Korean peninsula should also be accepted. Only when such reality is accepted as truth, can the adjustment of relations between the DPRK and the ROK be realized.

Delivers Gorbachev Message

LD0701094291 Moscow TASS in English 0921 GMT
7 Jan 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo January 7 TASS—The success of perestroika is of major importance not only for the Soviet Union but also for the ensurance of peace throughout the world, President No Tae-u of South Korea told Igor Rogachev, special envoy of the Soviet president and deputy foreign minister, in Seoul today.

The South Korean president emphasised that the Republic of Korea would render as much economic support to the Soviet Union as possible, the YONHAP news agency reports.

The leader of the Soviet delegation delivered a personal message to No Tae-u from President Mikhail Gorbachev. The message conveys hope for further development of economic cooperation between the two countries.

Consultations between representatives of the two countries' Foreign Ministries began in Seoul later in the day. These are the first consultations of their kind between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Korea which established diplomatic relations on September 30, last year.

Near East & South Asia

Evacuation From Iraq 'By and Large Complete'

LD0701165491 Moscow Central Television First
Program Network in Russian 1530 GMT 7 Jan 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] We have just received news that an aircraft carrying Soviet specialists from Baghdad has landed at Sheremetyevo airport. The evacuation of Soviet citizens in Iraq is thus by and large complete. There remain there about 350 people—personnel of establishments operating abroad, and also certain specialists who have expressed a desire to remain in Iraq voluntarily.

Dzasokhov Notes Congress' Gulf Stance

LD0701140291 Moscow TASS in English 1244 GMT
7 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow January 7 TASS—The resolution of the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies on the military-political situation in the Gulf is regarded, in the first place, as an action enhancing hope for a victory of common sense and wisdom, for the overcoming of the extremely dangerous situation without the need for armed forces, Alesandr Dzasokhov, chairman of the Committee for International Affairs at the Soviet legislature, believes.

The stand of the congress attracted close attention throughout the world, he told TASS. The resolution of the congress falls in line with world efforts, aimed at preventing the explosion. It is regarded as an appeal for consolidating international cooperation in settling the crisis by political means, in preventing its development into a military conflict. The response to the resolution shows, that the conviction that the pooling of efforts of the Soviet Union, which continues to use its influence on Iraq, with political and diplomatic actions of other countries expands prospects of settling the Gulf crisis by peaceful means.

"Many politicians point out with satisfaction that the Soviet Union's supreme legislative authority supported the resolutions of the U.N. Security council, adopted after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, thus confirming the invariability of its policy," Dzasokhov stressed during the interview. "This attitude to the Soviet stand in the world community is becoming especially important in view of the fact that foreign mass media have been discussing during the past several days possible changes in the Soviet Union's foreign policy."

He pointed out that foreign countries paid special attention to the part of the resolution dealing with the need for the USSR Supreme Soviet (legislature) to agree with the resolutions, that require the approval of the Supreme legislative authority. This approach to the problem puts an end to speculations about a possible appearance of Soviet troops in the Gulf area.

Iraq Continues 'Terror' in Kuwait

LD0701133291 Moscow TASS in English 1253 GMT
7 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yefremov]

[Text] Cairo January 7 TASS—The morale of Iraqi soldiers stationed in Kuwait is extremely low, one of the figures of the Kuwaiti resistance who recently returned from occupied areas told the Saudi newspaper AL-JAZIRAH in an interview published today.

As is admitted by Iraqi officers and men themselves, the Iraqi Army will not be able to resist the multinational forces. Many servicemen in their talk to Kuwaitis

express intentions to surrender immediately after military actions begin, and prepare white bands and white flags for the purpose.

At the same time, the Iraqi Army continues to practise terror in occupied Kuwait. Kuwaitis are forced to participate in demonstrations in support of Saddam Husayn. Such demonstrators are specially video-filmed for use in Baghdad's propaganda. Those who refuse to participate in such ostentatious shows of loyalty are in for being immediately shot to death.

Occupiers plunder houses and offices. In El Kuwait in recent days alone, the headquarters of the Kuwaiti Petroleum Company and the buildings and depots of the airport were plundered and then burned down.

According to data obtained by the Kuwaiti resistance movement, the Iraqi regime began to plan out an aggression against Kuwait and other Arab countries as far back as the end of 1989. Car number plates, which were intended to be used upon the seizure of the territories of countries in the future, were stored at Iraqi Army depots. According to eyewitness accounts, car plates "Iraq-Kuwait", "Iraq-Dhabi" (for the United Arab Emirates), and "Iraq-Dammam" (for Saudi Arabia) were prepared.

Arab Reactions to Gulf Developments Viewed

PM0701140191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
7 Jan 91 Union Edition p 4

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent D. Velikiy: "Persian Gulf: Ray of Hope Amid the Cocked Triggers"]

[Excerpts] Cairo—The Arab world has been generally optimistic, although very restrained, about Baghdad's positive response to G. Bush's proposal for a meeting between the heads of the U.S. and Iraqi diplomatic departments in Switzerland this week. People in the region, which could soon become the scene of very severe battles involving mass destruction weaponry, very much want to believe that an added boost has been given to the hope for a peaceful outcome. The tragic events of the past few months have taught them to be very cautious about optimistic forecasts, however.

This, essentially, was the position adopted at the Riyadh meeting of the foreign ministers of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Syria. They welcomed Saddam Husayn's decision to send his minister T. 'Aziz to meet with J. Baker 9 January to continue the dialogue on the Gulf crisis. At the same time, they reaffirmed in the most resolute fashion that only an unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and the restoration of that country's legitimate government will lead to a resolution of the crisis. Those states' troops, as is well known, are part of the multinational forces opposing the Iraqi Army and are on constant combat alert. In short, triggers are cocked but there is a ray of hope.

There is a wide range of interpretations of this shift in the situation among observers and diplomats. Few have

overlooked the fact that Baghdad's response to Washington's proposal was given on Friday—Muslims' holy day. That is, a view exists that the urgent nature of the response was of heightened importance for the Iraqi leadership, which saw this as a chance to reach agreement with the United States on peacefully avoiding conflict and perhaps believed that this was its last chance. [passage omitted]

French President F. Mitterrand's proposal to hold a UN Security Council session shortly before 15 January if Iraq had not withdrawn its forces from Kuwait by that time and war was becoming likely was greeted with great interest in Cairo. In the French president's opinion, if Baghdad makes any promises to withdraw its troops they should be treated very cautiously. Agreement can only be reached if there are firm guarantees for a complete and monitored troop withdrawal to a strict timetable, since trust in Saddam Husayn is declining with every passing day.

Belonogov Meets With PLO Official on Gulf

LD0401120691 Moscow TASS in English 1136 GMT
4 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov on Thursday received visiting co-chairman of the Soviet-Palestinian Middle East Committee Mahmud 'Abbas (Abu Mazin).

During the meeting, the sides discussed the situation in the Middle East and the Gulf after the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait.

Prioritising the need for further vigorous efforts to use "the goodwill pause" to find a peaceful political settlement of the Kuwait crisis, the sides also favoured the earliest possible progress in resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict with the participation of all interested parties and using the UN peace-making potential.

Palestinian Envoy Interviewed on Regional Aims

PM0701131591 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 5 Jan 91 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Nabil 'Amr, Palestinian ambassador to the USSR, by Yu. Subbotin; place and date not given: "How Much Blood Will Be Shed on Palestinian Soil?"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The Palestinian resistance movement is 26 years old. It goes back to the first days of January 1966. Since then on the lands occupied by Israel and in the refugee camps on the territory of neighboring Arab countries a whole generation of young Palestinians has grown up accustomed from childhood to holding a submachine gun and going out fearlessly, armed only with stones, against the punitive troops' tanks and armored vehicles. What motivates these brave people, what gives them the strength to continue for so many years an unequal and, in the opinion of their foes, hopeless struggle? That was

the subject of my talk with Nabil 'Amr, ambassador of the State of Palestine to the USSR.

[Amr] The aim of the Palestinian revolution remains unchanged. It is self-determination and the creation of our own independent state that is a full member of the world community. Our young fighters are going to the barricades and dying for this lofty goal. And this struggle will continue until a victory which in no way means the elimination of Israel. Our aim is the two peoples' peaceful coexistence. Only in that case can peace and stability in the region as a whole be achieved. The solution of the Palestinian problem has been and remains the cornerstone of the settlement of all Near East problems. Recent events in the region merely confirm that.

[Subbotin] Nonetheless, in both the West and the Soviet Union there are quite a lot of people who are categorically opposed to any linkage between a settlement of the Kuwait crisis and the solution of other problems of the region and in particular the Palestinian problem. What is the Palestinian stance on this issue today?

[Amr] We also believe that the solution of one problem cannot be dragged out while giving as the reason the failure to resolve another problem. But we urge that these problems be viewed in a package and in an interconnected way. Their solution should be approached with the same yardstick. After all the Near East is a single geopolitical whole. As for the Gulf region, there are 750,000 Palestinians and millions of people from other Arab countries living there. The ignoring of the Palestinian problem gave rise in the past to the Lebanon crisis and before that to the tragic events in Jordan. New eruptions of bloody conflicts could be next.

We by no means insist on the mechanical linkage of the solution of the region's problems. Primarily it is necessary to settle the Kuwait crisis by peaceful means. But following that it is essential immediately to resolve all other Near East problems in a package. Mankind has now entered a period of new relations, the era of the formation of a new world order. Positive processes are developing in Europe, there are advances in the settlement of regional conflicts in various parts of the world. Only the Near East has remained as it were on the edge of this highway. It seems to us that the role of the United Nations, whose attention is for the time being focused predominantly on the Gulf region, is far from exhausted in that respect.

We agree that the situation which has taken shape in Kuwait is a tragedy. But why not draw conclusions from it and resolve all problems of the region on an overall constructive basis? Otherwise new wars merely await the region.

But we have serious fears that the Americans will be able to impose their own logic on the rest of the world. This is a tough and implacable stance with regard to Iraq and a lenient and encouraging stance toward Israel, which is

continuing the occupation of foreign lands and repressions against their population.

[Subbotin] The whole world is now waiting for 15 January. Although, according to the statements by the U.S. command, the U.S. expeditionary corps in Saudi Arabia will not yet be ready for full-scale combat operations, the likelihood is still great that war will nonetheless break out. How could this option for the development affect the situation in the region as a whole and the fate of the Palestinian people in particular?

[Amr] Of course we will do everything in our power to ensure that does not happen. If war nonetheless does begin its only results will be destruction and death. An absolutely new political situation will be created in the region. For many years it will become a region of instability and even anarchy. It will be a mini-world war with adverse consequences for all mankind.

The Palestinian people will share the fate of the other peoples of the region. Although as far as we know Israel is planning something special for the Palestinian people. If war begins in the Gulf region it intends to implement the massive deportation of Palestinians from the occupied territories. This could aggravate the demographic situation in neighboring countries to an extreme degree and give rise to new tension and conflicts.

The Israeli authorities intend to populate the "liberated" lands with new immigrants, primarily from the Soviet Union. A "theoretical" base is being erected under it: Large-scale immigration allegedly requires a greater Israel. Thus they plan to preserve and even to expand the occupation of Arab lands. I am sure that in permitting mass emigration to Israel the Soviet Union is not pursuing such goals. But Tel Aviv is openly setting itself these goals. Large-scale immigration from the USSR willy-nilly serves those goals.

Our struggle will continue. The "intifadah," which has entered its fourth year, will continue. Accompanied by the political will of our entire people, it should produce results. If that does not happen, we will have no way out except to return to the armed struggle. But we believe that reason will prevail. We also hope for a peaceful outcome to the confrontation in the Gulf region. The fuse of war must be extinguished and everything resolved at the conference table.

West Europe

FRG Ministers Sign New Shipping Agreement

LD0701211991 Moscow TASS in English 2048 GMT
7 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Kalintsev]

[Text] Bonn January 7 TASS —A Soviet-German inter-governmental shipping agreement was signed in Bonn today. It confirms mutual commitments to promote the

freedom of merchant shipping and create favourable conditions for Soviet and German vessels.

The agreement also provides for closer cooperation between port services, charter organisations and shipping companies, including the establishment of joint ventures.

The document was signed by German Transport Minister Friedrich Zimmermann and Soviet Merchant Marine Minister Yuriy Volmer.

"We attach much importance to this agreement, the work on which continued for 17 years," noted Zimmermann.

The expansion of trade between the two states, the shipment of humanitarian aid to the USSR and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Germany need greater participation of sea transport to tackle these difficult tasks.

The agreement creates a sound basis for expanding cooperation in shipping, above all between corresponding German and Soviet enterprises, Zimmermann continued.

"We are grateful to President Mikhail Gorbachev for the contribution he made to strengthen Soviet-German relations, which has eventually enabled us to sign this agreement," the minister noted.

"The shipping agreement is another move towards filling with a specific content the treaty of good-neighbourly relations, partnership and cooperation between the USSR and Germany," Volmer told TASS. "This treaty laid down a solid legal foundation for new relations between the USSR and Germany.

"Maritime relations have always played an important role in trade and economic relations between the two countries. Germany is the Soviet [Union's] largest partner among the EC countries on the market of transport services.

"Last year the volume of shipping in bilateral trade topped six million tonnes. Soviet ships made nearly 2,500 calls at German ports last year.

"Five mixed companies are operating in Germany. They help run Soviet merchant vessels abroad and ship Soviet foreign trade cargoes."

The agreement provides for favourable conditions for the two countries' vessels in Soviet and German ports. It will be simpler for Soviet people to move in Germany, especially for those who make transit trips.

Soviet vessels may transport German foreign trade cargoes, including those shipped to third countries. All this promotes the principles of free shipping and free competition, Volmer stressed.

EEC Mediation Efforts in Gulf Crisis Viewed

PM0501170191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Jan 91 Second Edition p 7

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent V. Peresada: "Hope in Mediators"]

[Text] Brussels—Ten days before the expiration of the ultimatum to Iraq, West Europe is making an attempt to "halt the slide toward war." For this purpose the foreign ministers of the 12 EEC member-countries have gathered in Luxembourg today for an emergency meeting. They intend to elaborate a plan for a mediation mission between Iraq and the United States, and to begin implementing it immediately.

Baghdad has already responded to this attempt with a statement by its ambassador in Brussels. If West Europe wants to achieve any positive decisions, he said, the "Common Market" must take account of all the causes of instability in the Near East and all the UN resolutions concerning problems in the region. Otherwise the EEC mission will be viewed as a attempt to apply pressure to which Iraq will not bow.

Meanwhile, in parallel with the EEC "peacemaking conference," another major Western organization—NATO—is involving West European countries in increasingly active forms of military confrontation with Iraq. In line with a decision adopted at the alliance's local headquarters, the dispatch to Turkey of Air Force subunits which are part of the NATO mobile forces has begun. Belgium is contributing 18 military aircraft, Germany 18, and Italy six. It is emphasized in Brussels that the task of the NATO "airwing" is purely "deterrent" in nature, but its possible participation in military actions is not ruled out. The newspapers write that if "allied aircraft" cross the Iraqi-Turkish border, this will constitute NATO actions beyond the alliance's zone of responsibility as defined by the North Atlantic treaty.

Supreme Soviet

'Renewed' Supreme Soviet Resumes Work 8 Jan

LD0801072891 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0700 GMT 8 Jan 91

[Text] The fourth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet resumes its work today after a short recess. A joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities is opening right now in the Kremlin. Deputies are to begin examining and adopting the Union budget. The Union legislature will be carrying out this complex work in its new composition, renewed by almost half.

Lukyanov Opens Session To Discuss Plan, Budget

Praises People's Congress Work

LD0801091191 Moscow TASS in English 0901 GMT
8 Jan 91

[By TASS legislative correspondents Boris Zverev and Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS—After a three-week recess, the Soviet parliament today resumed work to discuss the Soviet Union's plan and budget for 1991.

Opening today's session, parliament speaker Anatoliy Lukyanov noted that the "session is being held soon after the Soviet Congress of People's Deputies. The congress cannot be assessed simply and prematurely. It demands a weighed approach".

Lukyanov denounced the suggestion that the "congress has manifested a shift to the right and consolidated conservative forces". He said the "congress really played a stabilising role in society and has determined key routes for moving out of the crisis".

He said the congress was "imbued with responsibility and constructive cooperation". "The congress opened, rather than extinguished, new possibilities for moving ahead with restructuring. It has given a chance to save the process of renovation in the country," he said.

Lukyanov said the Soviet foreign political course will not change. "We confirm that the world community can rely upon the statement by the Soviet Congress of People's deputies, which is the Soviet Union's supreme legislative body," Lukyanov said.

He said the renovated parliament would have to discuss implementing the congress's immediate instructions.

In addition to the plan and budget, parliament is expected to discuss the second reading of a bill on employment and discuss organising a referendum on retaining the USSR as a federation of sovereign republics, Lukyanov said.

The parliament is also expected to discuss some foreign political issues, including the Soviet Foreign Ministry

report on the situation in the Gulf, and ratify two international conventions. Lukyanov said the session is expected to last until January 14-15.

Asked about the expediency of forming a cabinet before the plan and budget are passed, Lukyanov said "if the Soviet president submits such proposals, they will be discussed by the session".

Reports Ryzhkov 'Feeling Better'

LD0801100191 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0900 GMT 8 Jan 91

[Report by Aleksandr Ruvinskiy on the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin on 8 January]

[Summary] A provisional timetable for the session has been drawn up: "The session will probably work on until the middle of next week." Several days will be devoted to the budget and the plan. "Also in the period of its work, the fourth session will examine the matter of organizing and holding a USSR referendum on the question of retaining the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; on organizing the work of the Supreme Soviet to implement the decisions of the Fourth Congress of People's Deputies; and on Saturday, 12 January, there is to be an examination of the situation surrounding the events in the Persian Gulf and the ratification of a number of international conventions."

Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov delivered a report on how the present session is expected to work. "He also dwelt briefly on some of the results of the past congress, noting that some press commentaries contain allegations of a certain drift to the right among some of the bodies of state power in our country. He did not agree with this and remarked that the facts indicate the congress's stabilizing role. The congress reaffirmed its commitment to the Union and the consolidation of society. Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov also restated the immutability of our country's foreign policy."

Following this a number of deputies put questions to him. Deputy Alksnis wondered why the plan and budget are being examined first of all, while examination of the government is to be postponed until later. Lukyanov responded that no government can operate without a budget and plan.

"Deputy Murashev pointed out that during the voting on Yanayev's candidacy during the congress, the total number of voting slips in the ballot box did not tally with the number that had been taken by the people's deputies." Lukyanov stated that the congress tellers' commission will have to investigate.

Another question was on the health of Ryzhkov. "Comrade Lukyanov replied that he is feeling better. He is walking and has started reading."

Kucherenko, chairman of the Commission for Planning, Budget, and Finance, then delivered a report on the Council of Ministers forecast for the economy in 1991. He also reported on some features of the budget.

At present time there is a break, but Kucherenko is to reply to questions afterward.

Political & Social

INTERFAX on Delay in New Administration

AU0701182991 Paris AFP in English 1816 GMT
7 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, Jan 7 (AFP)—The new Soviet administration "has not yet been formed" and the Supreme Soviet, the country's standing parliament due to begin an eight or ten-day session Tuesday [8 January], may not have time to approve the nominations, the INTERFAX news agency reported Monday.

Even the government structure "has not yet been clearly determined", the agency said, citing informed sources.

A commission headed by the new Soviet deputy president Gennadiy Yanayev and including President Mikhail Gorbachev's economic adviser Nikolai Petrakov has been charged with proposing the structure and function of the new cabinet, INTERFAX added.

Favourites for the post of prime minister, according to INTERFAX, are Finance Minister Valentin Pavlov, followed by Gosplan (state planning) chief Yuriy Maslyukov and the head of the state social affairs committee, Vladimir Shcherbakov. All three men are members of the commission.

The new cabinet is expected to number around 40 to 50 ministers, instead of the present 70, with the prime minister having only four deputies instead of eleven as now. The overall administration would be trimmed by some 2,000 members, INTERFAX said.

Contrary to expectations, the structure and composition of the new government will probably not be discussed at Tuesday's session of parliament, it noted.

Yanayev on Weakening of Executive Power

LD0701171691 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1625 GMT 7 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, January (TASS)— "The administrative command system in the USSR has been undermined and we are convinced that it will never return," USSR Vice President Gennadiy Yanayev, said at the Soviet-U.S. conference on problems of parliamentary democracy and constitutionalism today.

Having dwelled in some detail on the achievements of perestroika in the political sphere, he also mentioned problems arousing the Soviet leadership's particular concern, including a serious weakening of executive power. The experience of many countries shows, the USSR vice president stressed, that "democracy dies if it cannot stand up to ambitions." "Our democracy is also in need of protection both from those who want the old times to return and the apoligists of chaos, lawlessness, and collapse of the state," Yanayev said.

Warning against impatience in politics, he stressed: "We still have to learn to precisely define concepts such as 'political opponent' and 'political enemy.' In addition, there are many, many other issues which we must learn to consider anew, since millions of people have become actively involved in politics and this has become an important factor in the further development of perestroika and its basis."

Today, the USSR vice president went on, the leadership and the people of the country see the state of affairs in society as one of crisis: Economic and political stability have been violated, social order and discipline have been sharply weakened, interethnic relations have become exacerbated, and there is no civil peace and accord in society. The reason for this, Gennadiy Yanayev pointed out, lies in the fact that "in destroying, in breaking totalitarianism, and in fighting against its many-sided manifestations, we have allowed positive, creative processes to lag behind. As a result of such uncoupling, certain forces have started to use democracy itself as a tool of destruction." In this connection, he stated that democracy is not tantamount to anarchy; in any law-governed democratic state there are certain limits to this democracy, which is developed with due consideration for historical, political, social, or certain other factors. The existing situation, he added, is a legacy not only of the old but also of the new perestroika processes and mistakes; the measures of the anti-crisis program of President Mikhail Gorbachev are directed at eliminating such mistakes.

The supremacy of the law, the precise division of legislative and executive power, independence of the courts, and the granting of a broad range of social and political rights and freedoms to each individual have become the guidelines for the changes going on in Soviet society, Gennadiy Yanayev continued. "We can see a reaching out to these guidelines through the dialectical fusion of socialist self-administration with the many years of experience of representative parliamentary democracy which have developed over the course of several decades in various countries of the world," he said.

Certain critics of the Soviet system, even inside our society, Gennadiy Yanayev added, "are throwing out the baby with the bath water." "Over 70 years of Soviet power, we have accumulated immense social and political potentials which we simply do not have the right not to use," the USSR vice president stressed. "Confidence in the realization of these aims provides us with the strength which will help us bring perestroika to victory. We believe in this victory, although perestroika is going through a difficult stage." In this regard, Gennadiy Yanayev stressed that "the defeat of democracy would be for us the end of perestroika, just as the defeat of perestroika would be a serious blow to democracy, with all of the ensuing tragic consequences both for our country and for the entire world."

Speaking of the presidential form of government adopted in the USSR, which people often "try to compare with the American or French model," he noted that the Soviet Union is creating its own model of presidential rule. "The role of the Presidency in our country lies in protecting the rights of citizens, their honor and dignity, and in ensuring the normal functioning of the constitutional system and state institutions," Gennadiy Yanayev stressed.

Yeltsin Recounts Federation Council Talks

*LD0501140991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1130 GMT 5 Jan 91*

[Report by special correspondent Shamil Kashaf]

[Text] Hello, esteemed Russian listeners. It seems that the traditions of preparing gifts ahead of time for Christmas, including also at intergovernmental level, is seriously returning into the life of the Russians. Thus, the USSR Government, as an unexpected but expensive gift, has presented the Government of Russia with the proposal to place another 27 billion rubles [R] on the shoulders of Russia's taxpayers. This is expenditure which Russia would have to pay this year from the Union budget. For its part, the Russian Government has politely refused.

This is what we journalists, invited to a meeting with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, learned toward midday this morning. We had been waiting for this meeting since earlier today. Only yesterday evening did we receive a telephone call. A number of Russian publications, or their representatives, including also your Radio Rossii correspondent, were invited.

What did the journalists and Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin speak about today?

Boris Nikolayevich gave his assessment of the discussion of the conclusion of an economic agreement for 1991 which took place at the Council of the Federation under the direction of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. This agreement, according to the aim of those who drew it up, and in line with the task set by its authors, is to stabilize the socioeconomic situation in the country. This discussion was with the participation of presidents and chairmen of the supreme soviets of the republics; from just a few republics representatives at the level of finance ministers took part, but these are republics which agreed to sign the conclusion only directly—between the USSR and Estonia, and so on—but who refused to sign a general agreement.

I would say that several journalists were invited to the meeting with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and we would now like to offer our Russian listeners the opportunity to listen to a recording of this meeting. This is the view, the statement of RSFSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] The president's optimistic interview after this agreement put me on my guard inasmuch as there was no such unanimity there but there were fairly serious points of view on drawing up the budget and also on the text of the agreement itself.

A lot was said, by both me and Silayev, the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, among others. Of course, it was primarily a question of the budget because, of course, the budget for 1991 above all was the basis of the economic agreement. You know that, in accordance with the law adopted at the session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on the state budget system for 1991—pay attention to this phrasing, the budget system—we established our budget without a union budget, but already approaching 1 January, and the budget organizations have to pay wages, bills, and so forth already from 1 January, and, without a budget they could not have done this.

Further, in principle—we also adopted a decision on principles of the formation of a budget system—the main thing that was put in was that for the first time the republic, in accordance with the declaration adopted at the first Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Congress of People's Deputies, as a sovereign republic, and adopted at this congress, should have its own budget. That is, the budget should be divided up.

And the overall result is that it came up to R23.4 billion, plus the so-called half rent for oil and gas industry—that is 30 divided by two, which is R15 billion. And R38 billion come from enterprises throughout the tax on foreign exports and imports which, for the time being, our spending will match our income, we will match them one to one. For the time being we will be proceeding on this basis.

What happened as a result? Whereas last year we gave 120,000 to the union, this year we gave it only 79. [speaker in background says "78"] Well 78 plus, or approximately R79 billion, which is R40 billion less.

These principles have also formed the basis for this economic agreement. That is why—although our representatives of the Council of Ministers, the Russian Ministry of Finance, and a committee of the Supreme Soviet met several times, and some rapprochement took place compared to the first option for economic agreement—nevertheless, this difference remained. And yesterday suddenly they told us to take upon ourselves an additional R27 billion. This happened at the Ministry of Finance and was more than just unexpected, but generally even indecent.

Therefore... [changes thought] those are the ministries. Of course we favor the signing of an agreement for 1991 on the stabilization of the socioeconomic situation in the country and we agree with its basic principles, although we are sending our own version today to the country's president, together with a protocol, specifying indicated figures.

As for this path of not finding the lowest common denominator of all, but of letting every republic seek its revenue part of the budget...there must be some kind of proportion of subsidy, that is, redistribution between the republics, and not just in the same proportion as before. We do not intend to pay this amount any more, since the living standard of the population of the Russian Federation is no better than in the other republics. No better.

At the same time we do not want, of course, because of this—as they say or as the president bluntly expressed himself at the congress—to have the Russian people's deputies bring about the collapse of the union, and so on and so forth. Well, let the expression remain. It is on his conscience. But, as far as the substance of the issue is concerned, on the contrary, we are for the union, and I think that a strong, sound Russia will ensure a strong, sound union. And, of course, as for the difficulties which will now appear in certain republics...you see, each republic is signing the agreement. And we can resolve a proportion of the problems in just that way: by an agreement between the republics, bypassing the center. This is, as it were, our economic relationship with it. Perhaps we should indeed help them temporarily in some respects, but in some respects they must make concessions and resolve some problems especially regarding the deliveries of foodstuffs and raw materials for the light industry, and so on.

By the way, I read some interviews as TASS reports today—statements by some leaders of the republics saying: "after all we are raw materials republics, we produce raw materials, and so forth. But wait a minute, after all is Russia not a raw materials republic?"

Russia in volume is no less a raw materials republic than any other republic. That is why in principle the approach to the budget should be like that, identical.

You republics are sovereign, you draw up your own budget and you take on some union expenditure. It is said that you then undermine the army.

Nothing of the sort! In the army, if the entire budget is shared, approximately one-third of it, if I am not mistaken, goes on the current upkeep of the army. We are ready to take part here proportional to our national revenue. And not a ruble less! By the way, this upkeep includes social protection of the demobbed, and so on. All this, this part, we are taking upon ourselves. That is why some intend to accuse us of wanting to strike a blow against our armed forces by means of this budget. This is not true.

I understand that now is such a crucial moment inasmuch as on the eighth [USSR Supreme Soviet] session is to take place and the budget is to be apportioned. Today we are not agreeing and will not agree to the last R27 billion, inasmuch as this runs counter to our law. Well, in the extreme case, we must then assemble the Supreme Soviet. But I am convinced that the Supreme Soviet will not take a different decision. What does sovereignty mean then? Just that you put on this hat. So, now we are

a sovereign, independent republic, within the framework of the union. No. We state repeatedly that those functions which we have handed over to the union are the union's functions, and we fully accept our share of these functions. On condition that more will not be taken from us than is proper we, of course, have certain better opportunities for the fulfilment of our social programs. That is, to fulfill our obligations before the electorate. [end recording]

[Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1146 GMT on 7 January carries a report on the 5 January news conference with RSFSR President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. The later version adds: It seems to me that, if one realizes we are defending the budget, the work of enterprises will not be easier, but perhaps by the end of 1991, we might be able to improve people's lives.]

Shevardnadze Reportedly Quit Over CFE Dispute

91UF0304A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 3 Jan 91 p 1

[Article by IAN [News of the Academy of Sciences] Political Commentator Aleksandr Ignatov: "What is Behind Shevardnadze's Resignation?"]

[Text] The threat of a dictatorship and a campaign to discredit Gorbachev's foreign policy course—these are the two main reasons for the unexpected request for resignation which USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs E.A. Shevardnadze submitted to the 4th USSR Congress of People's Deputies. How justified are his fears that appeared to some people to be farfetched? And are these two reasons linked?

To answer these questions, we need to relate the history which the foreign press is writing quite a bit about and which our information organs are writing practically nothing about. I have in mind the brilliantly conducted operation to redeploy a powerful military formation to the East, beyond the Urals. Unfortunately, I do not know the code name of this action whose results were revealed to the world on November 18.

It is precisely on that day that the USSR's official representative to the Vienna Talks on Conventional Arms Reductions in Europe submitted information on the quantity of our military equipment to the partners in accordance with the treaty. And in this remarkable document diplomats and military experts, to their amazement, discovered the disappearance... of 20,000 (!) Soviet tanks.

Is this hard to believe? Let us turn to the pamphlet "The Warsaw Treaty and NATO: Correlation of Forces in Europe" that was published in Moscow in January 1989 by Voenizdat [Military Publishing House of the USSR Ministry of Defense] and APN [Novosti Press Agency]. The following figures are listed in it about the presence of tanks: The Warsaw Treaty Organization has 59,470 and NATO has 30,690. The ratio is 1.9:1 in favor of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. There is also deciphering

by country from which it becomes clear that 41,580 of the nearly 60,000 combat vehicles belong to the USSR.

On November 18, General V.M. Tatarnikov, a member of the Soviet delegation to the Vienna Talks, solemnly handed our information on army strength and equipment quantities to the partners in accordance with the 18-month diplomatic round. The graph titled "USSR's Tanks" totaled 20,694. A simple arithmetic operation allows us to determine that 20,886 vehicles in the Soviet Army have disappeared without a trace during the last 18 months.

This is how the American newspaper THE WASHINGTON POST (December 18) commented on this event: "The Soviet Union has substantially underestimated the number of tanks, armored personnel vehicles, artillery pieces, aircraft, and helicopters subject to elimination under the treaty.... The Soviets declared at least 20,000 guns less than they have at their disposal according to the assessments of Western officials and they incorrectly characterized certain categories of weapons in order to protect them from destruction"....

THE WASHINGTON POST even somewhat played down the scale of the event: In fact, 25,000 (!) guns and 15,500 (!) armored personnel vehicles have also been shipped beyond the Urals....

What have we gained by wasting on this action the very fuel that we do not have enough of during a record harvest, having used those same rail cars which we do not have enough of to transport food and while dooming military equipment to destruction from the harsh climate and impassable roads under the open skies of Siberia?

Soviet participants at the Vienna Talks heard about Operation "Perebroska" [Redeployment] for the first time from... the Americans when the operation was already nearly over. Ministry of Defense experts began the explanation with the fact there already was not enough space to garrison military units in the European part of the country. There are neither warehouses nor barracks but there is lots of space in Siberia. That is one.

Two. The latest military equipment from the West was intended to replace old equipment there.

Well and three, the military experts crossed their fingers, we are simply placing tanks and other equipment into storage there beyond the Urals under the open skies and it is no secret at all, having formed some sort of depots instead of military units and formations. Because the fact is that all military equipment that exceeds the "ceiling" set for each treaty participant is being eliminated—cut up, smelted, crushed, or blown up.... For which significant production capacity is required.

All of this is so. But why then not frankly state this to the partners in Vienna prior to, or if worst comes to worst, during the march—deployment to the East? If we

admitted our difficulties publicly and honestly, they would believe us a bit more.

"Representatives of the American Department of Defense," wrote that same WASHINGTON POST while carefully selecting the phrase, "expressed fears as a result of the fact that the highest officers of the Soviet Armed Forces, having previously expressed dissatisfaction with this treaty on certain occasions, could decide that they should not strictly comply with it and therefore deceived Soviet diplomats who were responsible for submitting data on weapons."

Incidentally, the promise to eliminate the cannons, tanks, and armored vehicles that were transported beyond the Urals is not a real obligation: The treaty has nothing to do with them at all and an appropriate international inspection team will not be able to inspect them on the spot....

Incidentally, the Vienna documents stipulate that all signatory countries will correct their figures and make them more precise if a discrepancy arises with the truth during the course of the three months prior to February 17. Official Washington has stated: If Moscow does not make such corrections that satisfy the partners, the U.S. Government will not be able to send the treaty to its Senate for ratification.

Here is your first perceptible result of Operation "Perebroska".... But did it in fact become the last straw that sorely tested our Minister of Foreign Affairs' patience?

BUT MAYBE, all of this—is just a not very successful variant of a way out of the numerous real difficulties being experienced by our army? All the more so since the treaty's text legally and formally does not prohibit withdrawal of equipment from its zone of validity prior to the signing of the document.

The political assessment of this step is another matter.

Alas, on November 18, our partners received two more surprises. Three ground forces motorized rifle divisions suddenly turned out to be part of... the Navy to which the limitations being introduced do not extend. The second surprise consists of a list of announced sites and facilities to be monitored which our experts also submitted to our Western colleagues in accordance with the impending arms reductions. Instead of the 1,500 facilities which we had previously recognized as subject to monitoring, the list totals... 895. As they say, commentary is superfluous.

But maybe our partners are also conducting themselves in this manner? In order to obtain a qualified answer, I turned to V.P. Karpov, head of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Administration on Disarmament Issues (UPOVR) and a veteran of the negotiations with the United States. "All of the primary information about the army and its weapons is regularly printed in the United States," the diplomat answered me, "and I did not encounter a desire to deceive us during the long years of the negotiating process."

Then maybe the treaty that we concluded in Vienna is simply bad? Viktor Karpov, on the contrary, considers it to be a successful compromise which was very difficult to achieve....

It is important not to sow doubt about our intentions to comply with the treaty and not to undermine that new image of the Soviet Union which was created with such difficulty over the course of a little over five years of perestroika.

No one will believe a second perestroika more. That is why our current attitude toward the Vienna Treaty has such significance. And it is no coincidence that the West is relatively calmly reacting to the withdrawal of troops and equipment from under the treaty's force. An ecumenical scandal would have been created in this regard five years ago or even three years ago. They have begun to believe us and they want to believe us.

When the treaty was signed, it was praised and supported by none other than Marshal D. Yazov. This was natural. Another thing was strange: To hear a contrary opinion from his very mouth a bit later during the work of the 4th Congress of People's Deputies. As far as I know, high officials of the Ministry of Defense also responded negatively to the document at a closed meeting which recently occurred with the editors of military publications. Just where are they speaking the truth—in Paris or in Moscow?

I think that, having encountered the negative consequences of Operation "Perebroska," someone in the army considered it convenient to publicly lay the blame on... E.A. Shevardnadze and his department.

Writer Rules Out Gorbachev Dictatorship

PM0701122591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 5 Jan 91 First Edition p 1

[Article by Vyacheslav Lukashevich under the "Seven Days" rubric: "Mind the Doors"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] What kind of presidential power will there be in the new year? Who will join the president's team—the Security Council and the Cabinet of Ministers, which, as Gorbachev remarked after Thursday's [3 January] Council of the Federation sitting, it has been decided to form to meet the needs of the transitional period? Will they be members of the old "guard" who have been tested in action or will new "stars" emerge? How will the president cooperate with the parliament? None of these are idle questions. In many respects the answers to them will relieve our alarm and anguish about the future. Including the fears that the newspapers are traditionally "ashamed" to mention. For instance, will we rear a neo-dictator in the person of Gorbachev? Will the cult virus infiltrate his style of leadership, especially since this year is a jubilee year for the president?

He has been given, as they say, the last word in power. Neither Stalin nor Brezhnev had as much power. What is the meaning of the "firm authority" which the president has not tired of repeating is necessary?

After the Congress A.I. Lukyanov said the following in a television program: "I reject one-man dictatorship, but we are all adherents to the dictatorship of order, the dictatorship of legality." You would not have thought that this claim should contravene the democracy that is establishing itself—and in some places collapsing. But this word itself reeks of the brutality and fear experienced by Soviet people. Are there guarantees that there will be no repetition of the 1930's-1950's?

In my view, there are. The first is this: We cannot live as we are living today, and the main thing is that the people have learned how they can and should live. After all, they have reached the end of their rope. Further: The idea of the democratization of society and the priority of pan-human values was his—our leader's. It is his baby that he has cherished and nurtured.

Our president is certainly being heavily reproached for "indecisive actions" and for deviating from the "firm course." I could cite dozens of readers' letters containing words of wrath. But tell me, can you really cultivate a vine without giving it freedom, warmth, and sunshine? Now that they have risen up and become ingrained in our consciousness, new qualities—democratic order and discipline—are necessary for society. Is this a difficult matter? Yes, it is. But there is just no other way to a rule-of-law civilized state. Just as there is no other way to extricate ourselves from the deadlock in which the country has found itself.

That is why I believe that the president does not need power as much as trust, assistance, and accord from his compatriots, and the readiness to all move toward the common goal together.

At present this accord and readiness do not exist. At present, like the heroes of the well-known Krylov fable, we are moving in different directions: tearing up and dislocating the country, pulling asunder its army and other structures which have been created by the efforts of previous generations. People are saying: Look, Germany has united and Korea will unite—and the time will come for the Union to unite. That's the logic and philosophy! [passage omitted]

Where are we going and what train are we taking to get there? Prominent social scientists are running scared. Politicians and deputies are threatening oncoming famine and civil war, while democrats who have gotten hold of the reins of power in some places are intimidating people with the thought of military diktat. But our old well-known IZVESTIYA observer A. Bovin promises the convergence hypothesis which has been slated on several occasions whereby "capitalism and socialism are moving onto parallel tracks." I just do not understand whether "they" are moving over to our side or we are moving over to "theirs."

But the locomotive is flying on ahead. How many stops have we passed? There was the "Commune" and "developed socialism victorious once and for all"; we have been passing the "Communism" platform for a decade now, although admittedly no one is getting off there; and we have now reached the festive "Christmas" station. With God's help.

"Mind the doors. Next station..."

Which station?

Kalugin Sees 'Tendency' Toward Dictatorship

91UF0286A Yerevan EPOKHA in Russian
No 16, 6 Dec 90 p 5

[Interview with Oleg Kalugin, former KGB general, USSR people's deputy, by POSTFACTUM in Moscow; date not given: "I See a Tendency Towards Establishing a Dictatorship"]

[Text] [POSTFACTUM] What is your opinion of the latest speeches by USSR President Gorbachev at the USSR Supreme Soviet session?

[Kalugin] Gorbachev's speech at the November 16 session of the USSR Supreme Soviet looked pathetic. He behaved as a pupil who had not done his homework. The president was trying to tell us about successes, about huge harvests, and about the bounty on the meat counters. All in all, it was a helpless, colorless address by the president who was not ready for the situation. On November 17, I heard an energetic president who had a program of action. My impression is that the program he presented had been prepared a long time ago and represents a fall-back move that aims at strengthening his personal power. I think his demands to increase his own power during the last five years have been excessive. Gorbachev does not seem to be able to comprehend one truth: What matters is not the reshuffling of figures and not the new powers, but the trust of the people—the trust that he does not have and that he is losing catastrophically.

I saw in Gorbachev's proposals an absolutely clear tendency towards establishing a dictatorship. The emphasis that he makes in his speech on the role of the Armed Forces, law enforcement organs, and the KGB—about which he spoke in an especially emotional manner—represents a dangerous symptom.

[POSTFACTUM] Will the leadership of the KGB, MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], and the Army support Mikhail Gorbachev under these circumstances?

[Kalugin] I have no doubt that Yazov and Kryuchkov will support him. They are obedient enforcers of the party's will. Besides, they are either too old and too far removed from real political matters, or they were provincial bosses in the past.

The state security organs in the republics are a different matter. I think that the KGB leadership in the Baltic

republics, in Armenia, and in Georgia, will completely ignore the USSR KGB, and they will be right in doing so.

[POSTFACTUM] Please comment on the developments with your complaint on USSR Council of Ministers Chairman Nikolay Ryzhkov.

[Kalugin] It appears that our judicial organs are trying to objectively sort out this situation. On the other hand, the USSR Procuracy, which represents the interests of state structure, is trying to impose an outdated, nomenklatura-based notion of how to conduct court affairs. USSR Deputy Procurator General Dzenitis said that Ryzhkov could only be discussed at the level of the highest court organs, perhaps on the level of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Court. But this is a civil suit, and all citizens are equal in court.

This is a typical apparat approach that is so characteristic of our system, and it shows even today by the procuracy's actions that they are incapable of new thinking.

No matter how this develops, I will absolutely insist on bringing this matter to completion on whatever level it may take.

[POSTFACTUM] Are you planning to hold any position in the government?

[Kalugin] No, I have no such plans. I will be engaged in literary and public activities. Besides, my duties as a deputy are a considerable obligation that I would like to carry with honor.

KGB's Kryuchkov Cited on Economic Crime

LD0701123791 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1059 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, January 7 (TANJUG)—KGB head Vladimir Kryuchkov has said that the Soviet Union will not go back to the old ways, neither in its internal policy nor in international affairs.

In an interview to the Belgrade weekly VREME, Kryuchkov said that "anyone who would try to turn back the clock in the Soviet Union would be done for immediately."

"We have opened a new era and no-one intends to go back," Kryuchkov underscored.

Asked about the authorization to the KGB to fight thefts and embezzlements in the economy, Kryuchkov explained that the KGB did not get any authorization which would be outside the law and that it was "engaged in maintaining legal order."

Kryuchkov said that the KGB expected soon to receive "new presidential decrees confirming the legal nature of this task and certain wider authorization to combat organized crime," he said.

Kryuchkov announced that "a Soviet presidential decree would soon be announced stating the precise nature of economic sabotage." The KGB head believes that sabotage "in certain cases directly endangers even the Soviet state itself."

The definition of economic sabotage was stucken from Soviet law in 1958. In this context, Kryuchkov said that he believed economic sabotage includes "everything which is done with premeditation or from negligence and is harmful to economic contacts and normal supply of the population."

All those who "sabotage the supply of the population with food and industrial goods, or let such goods be destroyed, should face criminal charges," Kryuchkov explained to the Belgrade weekly VREME.

Ryzhkov's Wife Interviewed on Premier's Health

PM0701144391 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 5 Jan 91 First Edition p 6

[Interview with Lyudmila Sergeyevna Ryzhkova, wife of N.I. Ryzhkov, by V. Shestopalov, at their home; date of interview not stated; first paragraph is introduction: "January Evening at N.I. Ryzhkov's Home"]

[Excerpts] In telephone calls, telegrams, and letters many readers have asked us about this talk with Lyudmila Sergeyevna Ryzhkova, wife of the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. People ask anxiously about how he feels now and wonder about the most diverse aspects of his life, invariably express wishes for his speediest recovery, and want to see him back at work—he is so necessary to the country now. [passage omitted]

[Shestopalov] How does Nikolay Ivanovich feel?

[Ryzhkova] I have just returned from the hospital. This is the 10th day of his illness. Each time I ask the doctors one and the same question: Is he no worse today than yesterday? When I receive an encouraging answer I breathe a sigh of relief. The day before yesterday Nikolay Ivanovich was allowed to get up for the first time and have lunch by himself at table. A little earlier he had had a slight fever, which the doctors rapidly brought down... He is forbidden to listen to the radio, watch television, or read newspapers. I spent New Year's Eve with him. We spoke about home and the family. To entertain him somehow, I told him about what I had seen on television. You know, something is happening with television. The countless debates and the endless consideration of trivia have disappeared from the screen and they have started showing movies which we liked. [passage omitted]

[Shestopalov] People are now interested in what sort of a life Nikolay Ivanovich has had and what he is like.

[Ryzhkova] We have spent 35 years together and all these years he has been absorbed in his work and has always worked until late at night. The past few years have been particularly hard. He has worked without

leave, without days off. He read through mountains of papers at this desk. He had a special case made for him, very like a small suitcase, in which the files are arranged in two rows and he would come here with that case—I could not even lift it... We wanted to go to Valday, for a vacation on the lakes, but we didn't manage it. [Ryzhkova ends]

We speak of perestroika, about the problems it has generated, about hopes and disappointments.

[Ryzhkova] Nikolay Ivanovich sees perestroika as a vitally necessary phenomenon, he wholeheartedly supports the strategy of perestroika—after all, we had reached a borderline beyond which it would have been fatal for the country to go. But every step in perestroika requires such care. To avoid making a mistake. Previously there was the euphoria of the plan—meeting the plan at any price—and now there is the euphoria of the market. We have rushed into the market and destroyed a system which worked at least in some way. The new should replace the old, but sensibly and gradually. Nikolay Ivanovich often complains: "To destroy the apple we are cutting down the whole tree and planting a new one." His central concern is to preserve statehood. For him the idea of the Union's destruction is unacceptable.

[Shestopalov] How does the Council of Ministers chairman's morning begin?

[Ryzhkova] With exercises, a light breakfast, and then straight to work. First the urgent telegrams. There is a natural disaster here, a catastrophe there, an explosion here, a threatened strike there... In extreme cases he would rush to the scene. Not on instructions, but because he could not do otherwise. He was the first to fly to Armenia, to the terrible ruins. He arrived with a dirty face, telephone someone, asked something, consulted with someone, day and night. He was the first to fly to Fergana at the time of the tragic event. He returned home weak, depressed, jaded, and immediately rushed to his desk. Later he told me about what he had experienced in Fergana. When he arrived there events were developing with the speed of a taiga fire. At the steppe military township about 20,000 people had gathered, the Meskhetian Turks were seeking protection from the military. I was standing in the full blaze of the sun, he said, there were 19 coffins on the sidewalk. People's anger had become heated to the limit, I understood that from the men's clenched fists and keen, steely looks. It seemed that in another second the three of us would be crushed alive.

[Shestopalov] Do you think Nikolay Ivanovich's stance will change due to his illness?

[Ryzhkova] No, I don't think so. [passage omitted]

Housing for Returning Troops Under Construction

LD0401230291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Jan 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today a group of people's deputies, members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Issues of Defense and State Security, arrived in the Nizhegorodskaya Oblast.

[Begin recording] [A. Tsurulnikov, not further identified] This military installation near Nizhniy Novgorod has a rich and long history. Many renowned military combined units have been deployed here. Military combined units which were the first to withdraw from Czechoslovakia and were rebased in the Moscow military okrug have been here since last March.

[L.V. Sharin, acting chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Issues of Defense and State Security] It is satisfying that the local bodies of power are of a very interested and understanding disposition toward those servicemen who are being withdrawn from abroad. I would say that albeit minimal, but adequate, decent conditions [are being provided] for the stay, especially of soldiers, and the families of officers and warrant officers.

[Tsurulnikov] A rather great deal of construction work is under way here.

[V.I. Litvinchuk, chief of the political directorate of the formations] A block of 70 apartments has been occupied; 38 apartments are for a hostel. This month, a 216-apartment building will be occupied, and in June or July, another 216 apartments.

[Tsurulnikov] Are servicemen carrying out the construction work, then?

[Litvinchuk] Yes, they are working conscientiously. We can pass on our Army's thanks to them. [end recording]

Nazarbayev on Center, Republic Powers

91UN0591A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 52, 26 Dec 90 pp 1-2

[Interview with Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of the Kazakh SSR, by Ye. Domnysheva; place and date not given: Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies: "Right Now We Are Engaged in Cosmetics"]

[Text] The name Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of the second largest republic of the Union, is mentioned in speeches delivered from the left and from the right. It has been brought up many times in connection with filling the newly created position of vice president. Nazarbayev is asked many questions in the corridors of the congress, as well as at press conferences.

[Domnysheva] Nursultan Abishevich, the impression has been created that in discussion of the Union treaty, it is as if the center and the republics are not hearing one

another. The model issued from above does not satisfy most republics—and I am not even referring to those that have declared intent to leave the Union. What do you think—is the Yeltsin-proposed version of horizontal, interrepublic ties, with subsequent transfer of powers to the center more realistic in the present situation?

[Nazarbayev] Unfortunately, the proposed draft Union treaty does not take into account much of what is extremely important for Kazakhstan, for example. Not just for us: The Central Asian republics, Russia, and Belorussia have much in common with us. Of course, we all need the Union, but there is one thing I cannot agree with—the lack of respect for republic parliaments. After all, up until now our sovereignty has not been recognized.

[Domnysheva] What does it mean to recognize sovereignty? To ratify it? A recognition in words will hardly change anything.

[Nazarbayev] Indeed, declarations are usually proclaimed, and they do not require ratification. Nonetheless, it would not hurt to say that we take this into account and are concluding a Union treaty on this basis. Gorbachev has proclaimed a Union of sovereign states. The concept presupposes transfer of certain powers by the republics to the center. But powers must first of all be delineated and agreement reached as to which belong to the center and which to the republics.

A second question of principle. How do we constitute a Union treaty if there is not yet any delineation between Union and republic assets? In all their declarations, the republics have announced that natural riches constitute their own property. So—are declarations not taken into account?

[Domnysheva] What do you choose—compromise, looking for new ways, or do you simply not sign the treaty?

[Nazarbayev] Of course we cannot permit disintegration of the Union. But what treaty signing can we be discussing at this congress? This can happen when a draft is approved in the republic parliaments. None of the top leaders is empowered to sign it today.

But I think a treaty will be signed after all. Especially since about ten republics have defined their position in essence—it is entirely possible to delegate powers to the center in questions of defense, foreign policy, the defense industry, interrepublic communications and power supply... These are the reasons for paying taxes and maintaining the central authority. We would like to accelerate the process of constituting a treaty. How are we to live if it is not signed? We have already concluded treaties with eight republics, and this has afforded benefits—which the Union Government, alas, does not wish to recognize.

[Domnysheva] In your address before the congress, you accused the Union Government of breaking down our economic expanse. How do you explain the situation in the government—through an inability to properly orient itself in the new situation, through the old thinking?

[Nazarbayev] Many countries have experienced the sharp turns of events we are presently undergoing, but they were prepared for them. They made calculations with respect to what consequences might ensue following their political decisions. We have dismantled our old ties and created nothing to replace them. The disorganization of production and lack of reciprocal deliveries we see are not just the fault of the republics. The central authority has turned out to be incapable of providing economic stability. We see how everything is collapsing. This has pushed us towards horizontal ties.

[Domnysheva] Do you believe this is a panacea?

[Nazarbayev] Today even our horizontal ties are being derailed, to our detriment. You recall the recent conference of plant directors, where some people considered us "republic principalities" allegedly seeking power. But we are expressing the will of the people, of our parliaments. We subordinate ourselves to adopted declarations. What "principalities" are they talking about here?

Union ministries are working with their enterprises and demanding: Do not submit! Republic dictatorship will be worse! But I am saying the opposite—under market conditions the enterprise is free in the entire world expanse. Its reciprocal relations with the republic government entail the establishment of favorable conditions for their operation and the payment of taxes for maintenance of local organs of power. That's all there is to it. But they distort this up above. Ministry-based concerns are hurriedly being established. But can concerns be established from above? This is just a change in name. The structure is the very same... I personally do not have bad relations with Ryzhkov and those around him—I was in the government for five and a half years and know everyone. Unfortunately, it is a system that does not want to yield one iota of authority. But ambitious arrogance is gaining the upper hand, in my opinion, over common sense.

[Domnysheva] Do you believe things will be better if the Ryzhkov cabinet leaves?

[Nazarbayev] At the least, if we really want to dismantle the administrative command system, we should recognize this. For the time being we have just been engaged in cosmetics. Everything depends on how President Gorbachev approaches it. If he forms another government from his old group of adherents, his "pillars" of the rigid, centralized system, then I don't know... In that case the republics themselves will have to define their position...

[Domnysheva] There have been rumors for a long time now to the effect that you are one of the people to be considered for the vice-presidential position. Is this a practicality?

[Nazarbayev] I have repeatedly responded to such questions. It is thanks to the "Soyuz" group of deputies and certain republics that I have received such a high appraisal. It is a nice thing, of course, to receive such confidence when the country is in such a difficult state. It reflects primarily a hope that someone will assist Gorbachev in setting everything in a better direction.

But what is envisaged in the vice presidency? Fulfilling directives of the president? Heading some commission or another? What will this vice president be able to accomplish with the old group of people?

Today this is no more than an honorary title. I have not received any official proposition from Gorbachev.

In Kazakhstan, people have put their trust in the program I proposed, in the economic structure we are striving to implement. Our multiethnic republic has come to put its trust in the stability of interethnic relations. A great deal is contemplated in this regard. I must justify the confidence of multiethnic Kazakhstan, especially since I have only been in the presidential post since May.

[Domnysheva] Do you have practical proposals for getting us out of the crisis?

[Nazarbayev] Yes, I have ideas, but if we are to be engaged in this, we must have our own brain trust and a good team. There are top-flight experts in Moscow and throughout the country. Perhaps we should resort to unpopular measures, but not the ones that are being proposed today.

[Domnysheva] Do you have in mind measures involving force?

[Nazarbayev] No, not measures of force. I believe we need democratization and glasnost—but we must shift from criticism to constructive programs, from mass meetings to a real, civilized, parliamentary struggle for power, from glasnost to true freedom of speech. Let political movements and democracy develop. The economy should be separated from ideological influence. In order to implement such a program, should it be established, we need an individual today in whom the population and all social movements believe. Do we have such a government today? No, we do not. Do we have such a leader in the country? I doubt it...if I am to speak frankly.

[Domnysheva] You stand at the head of Kazakhstan, such a complex multiethnic formation. To date Kazakhstan has been one of the safest and calmest republics. What is this due to?

[Nazarbayev] First of all, such delicate issues as interethnic relations cannot be played with. A policy must be pursued that is clear-cut and intelligible for people.

When we adopted the Law on Languages, we paid attention to the impermissibility of encroaching on the individual by virtue of nationality or religion. And we do not merely make such a statement—we strive to implement it in actuality as well. All adopted laws take into account the multiethnic composition of the republic.

[Domnysheva] In its extreme manifestations national self-consciousness leads to bloodshed. How can we counteract this?

[Nazarbayev] We, too, have certain extremist movements and forces. We have not escaped that. These must be put under the control of law. Those who call for interethnic strife, those who call for border changes, are subject to criminal law.

Furthermore, let me say that we in Kazakhstan have already established the structure of authority Gorbachev is attempting to establish. We disbanded the government and branch ministries, and subordinated the new Cabinet of Ministers to the president. Moreover, it is determined by law that the republic president may dismiss any leader from his position, including the chairman of an oblast soviet. People came to the conclusion that we must shore up executive authority, strengthen discipline. This is what we are doing.

[Domnysheva] And are you not accused, are you not suspected of possibly becoming a dictator in your own republic sooner or later?

[Nazarbayev] No. In Kazakhstan the president is entirely accountable to the Supreme Soviet. It elects him. We have a full balance of powers.

In addition, I am by nature not that kind of individual. It is simply that measures for strengthening executive authority are dictated by the times, and the people understand this. There can be no suspicion whatsoever, therefore, in this regard.

Justice Minister on Registration of Parties

PM0801101591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Jan 91 First Edition p 2

[Interview with new USSR Minister of Justice S. Lushchikov by G. Ovcharenko; place and date not given: "Topical Interview; Bulwark of Democracy"]

[Text] The USSR Law on Public Associations came into force on New Year's Day. In actual fact one of the basic democratic norms of a rule-of-law state is being revived—the free coexistence of different political parties and movements in our society.

The USSR Ministry of Justice has been charged with registering parties and movements and public organizations and foundations, which could have all-Union,

interrepublic, or international status, and with monitoring their activities. It is noteworthy that the entry into force of the most democratic law, as journalists have already contrived to nickname it, practically coincided with the appointment of S. Lushchikov as the new USSR minister of justice.

[Ovcharenko] Sergey Gennadyevich, did this appointment come as a surprise to you?

[Lushchikov] Not entirely. The fact is that, as a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet and deputy chairman of its Committee for Legislation, I headed a deputies' group monitoring the activities of the USSR Prosecutor's Office. In the course of this work I became convinced of and advocated the need to ensure that the law-enforcement organs become one of the main bulwarks of presidential power and operate in a more coordinated fashion. I have also spoken of the need to boost the authority of justice as a whole and organize the population's legal education properly.

[Ovcharenko] Is your appointment connected with the entry into force of the Law on Public Associations in the new year?

[Lushchikov] There is no direct connection. The law was adopted, as you know, last October; I myself participated in the lengthy and painstaking work which went into it. Fate simply decreed that with some help from me this undoubtedly progressive law started to operate for real. We have set up a special department with 45 personnel to liaise with public associations. This alone conveys the kind of importance the USSR Ministry of Justice attaches to the new law's implementation.

[Ovcharenko] But why was the Ministry of Justice specifically charged with this task?

[Lushchikov] Because in the rule-of-law state which we are building, in a democratic society proclaiming the principles of equality for all parties and equality for all trade union and public associations, foundations, and organizations, the Ministry of Justice must adopt the role of a coordinating juridical center which is right at the intersection of the three powers—legislative, executive, and judiciary. It would actually be incorrect if the registration of new parties and associations were entrusted to, say, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs or the prosecutor's office.

[Ovcharenko] Which parties and public associations have already put in an application for registration?

[Lushchikov] All I will say is that on 2 January alone 18 representatives of various parties and movements officially applied to us. Mostly of parties incorporating the word "democratic." Incidentally, we will encounter difficulties here—with these parties' identical names. For example, representatives of two parties of constitutional democrats have already simultaneously applied to us.

[Ovcharenko] What about the registration procedure itself: What does it entail?

[Lushchikov] You know, the primary need here is for each party and public movement to read the law's text carefully. It covers everything. For example, it is necessary to submit an application for registration which indicates the place of residence of the leaders of the party, association, or foundation. For registration it is also necessary to submit the statutes or regulations. And they must reflect the aims and purpose of the party or public movement and the membership structure, conditions, and procedure. Incidentally, only a party with at least 5,000 members can register.

The statutes or regulations must have a special chapter on the "Rights and Duties" of members of the party or association; they must indicate how the leading bodies are formed, what they are called, and whether the party or association will have its own mass media or symbols—an emblem, flags, or badges. The minutes of the founding congress, conference, or general meeting which approved the statutes or regulations are also needed.

However, I will not summarize the law any more—it has been published. And if someone is hoping that we will help to prepare registration documents, they are mistaken. First, it is not envisaged by the law, and second, the following question immediately arises: How serious is a party or association if it can't even prepare registration documents? Incidentally, none of the 18 that applied to us has submitted full and competently compiled documentation.

[Ovcharenko] What time period is allocated for registration?

[Lushchikov] The situation here is as follows. Parties or public associations which are already functioning as a juridical entity, for instance the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League, trade unions, or the CPSU, must complete registration before 31 December this year. And those which are newly formed have to submit an application for registration within a month of their statutes or regulations' being approved, while we, the Ministry of Justice, have two months in which to consider it.

[Ovcharenko] Obviously not all those wishing to will obtain a registration certificate.

[Lushchikov] As the law says, registration is withheld from organizations which have as their aim or modus operandi the overthrow or violent change of the constitutional order; the violent infringement of the unity of the territory of the USSR, union or autonomous republics, or autonomous formations; the propagation of war, violence, or brutality; or the stirring up of social—including class—differences, and also of racial, ethnic, and religious differences. The creation of militarized public associations and formations is likewise banned.

I also foresee difficulties with the registration of many so-called charitable and other foundations which have started on the road to commercialization—there are,

alas, quite a number of them. But under the law we do not have the right to register commercial or religious associations.

[Ovcharenko] Is a registration charge envisaged?

[Lushchikov] Yes. The Council of Ministers has approved a registration fee of 5,000 rubles [R] for international and all-Union organizations and a R4,000 fee for interrepublic organizations.

[Ovcharenko] Sergey Gennadyevich, you said that the Ministry of Justice has been charged with not only registration but also monitoring functions...

[Lushchikov] Quite so. We have the right to request all documents connected with the activities of the party or public association and to attend their meetings and forums. This is necessary to correlate the activities of the party or association with their statutes or regulations, the USSR Constitution, and the Law on Public Associations. If we discover contraventions we have the right to issue a written warning. If this has no effect, jointly with the USSR Prosecutor's Office we can raise the question of judicially dissolving or abolishing the party or association. In this case the USSR Supreme Court has the final say.

[Ovcharenko] Incidentally, Sergey Gennadyevich, are you a member of any party, and what do you think about the depoliticization of state organs of power and administration and of law-enforcement and judicial organs?

[Lushchikov] Understood. I am a member of the CPSU. I have yet to experience any kind of party pressure in the performance my professional duties, and if there were any such attempts I would be able to put a stop to them, believe me. I support Article 16 of the Law on Public Associations, which says that law-enforcement and justice personnel are to be guided only by the law in their activities.

[Ovcharenko] Are you confident that the Law on Public Associations will, as people now say, do the job?

[Lushchikov] I'm sure it will. After all, multipartyism is the bulwark of democracy.

Newspaper Editor Chief Reacts to Strike Action *LD0501113391*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0812 GMT on 5 January, during its regularly scheduled "Panorama" program, carries an 8-minute interview with Vyacheslav Pronin, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA editor in chief, by correspondent Vladimir Bezyayev in Moscow on 5 January.

Bezyayev opens the interview by noting the editorial offices of many newspapers and magazines are closed in Moscow due to a press workers strike.

Pronin then predicts Bezyayev and other radio listeners will not receive newspapers and magazines through the

mail on 6 January, before commenting on the strike: "This is probably a strike sanctioned by the communications minister, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the CPSU Central Committee. However, at KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA we decided to show for work despite such a holiday having been donated to us. We are staging a one-hour warning anti-strike. We want to warn our readership first and foremost, warn them that they are being forced to lose out financially. After all, we advertised a 300-issue subscription, and one issue has already been stolen from the reader. Also, we almost doubled the subscription fee. If we reduce production of our newspaper today, this means a second hidden increase in prices at KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. The reader must know of this. Then we want to warn printers, postmen, and all other related enterprises that we must not destroy one another, and, on the whole, that there is nothing over which we have to fight one another. It should be advantageous to publish KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, which has a circulation of 17,000,000."

Bezyayev ends the interview by noting OGONEK and ARGUMENTY I FAKTY will not be distributed on 6 or 7 January and by questioning whether the public should bother to subscribe at all.

Culture Minister Views Urgent Morality Measures

LD0401234691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Jan 91

[Report by correspondent A. Kraminov; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] There has been a session at the USSR Ministry of Culture of the commission for the elaboration of urgent measures to preserve public morality.

[Kraminov] The commission was formed at the instruction of the USSR president less than a month ago, but the document that will be presented for examination by the country's Supreme Soviet is already ready in rough draft. Leaders of creative unions, a number of ministers and chairmen of state committees, and representatives of the clergy of all denominations took part in the work. The commission was headed by Nikolay Gubenko, USSR minister of culture.

Judging from the way the discussion went, the greatest concern is the spread of pornography. Fears were expressed, however, that attempts to control it would create a new type of censorship in the country and that possible measures to stop it—and they were discussed too—would just drive the problem underground. Nikolay Nikolayevich, during today's sitting you said frequently that it was a question of urgent measures. Do you think the tasks you were discussing are nonetheless important, burning, now that there are so many problems in the country?

[Gubenko] Not just burning, but fundamental because the country's public and society as a whole, its entire state institutes, from the president to the churches, are very concerned about society's level of morality. [passage omitted]

[Kraminov] Could you sum up in a few words the document, the significance of the document that you are preparing, or, of what its scope consists.

[Glubenko] The scope of the document lies, first of all, in regulatory measures—financial, economic, restrictive, age limits, restricting the location of, let us say, the propaganda of such a kind of erotic product. There is no question at all of pornography. That is indisputably a crime.

Article Attacking Culture Minister Decried

91UN0629A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 52, 26 Dec 90 p 8

[Article by M. Shvydkoy: "The New Witch Hunt?"]

[Text] Everything in Maria Dementyeva's article "The Theater of One Minister," published in the ROSSIYA newspaper on 16 November 1990, is painfully familiar. Quotes taken out of context, a collection of "unassailable" and unverified facts, references to the "people's opinion," the unbridled didactic tone—and the portrait of an official disliked by the newspaper—in this case USSR Culture Minister Nikolay Gubenko—is ready. A ban-wielding, sanctimonious persecutor of the church, an illiterate bureaucrat, a supporter of the USSR president and of the Union treaty, a defender of the cults—this alone would be enough to use this minister of culture as a boogie man to scare children and adults alike, to conduct meetings and protest rallies against the prevalence of "gubenkos" in our culture, and, finally, to call him to answer...

The tune seems to be new, but the tone is very old. It is the tone, however, as the highly educated author of the article in the newspaper ROSSIYA probably knows, that "makes the music." Alas, the "music" is nauseatingly familiar. I have read similar treatises many times in my life: in publications that are diametrically opposite in their political orientation to the new Russian newspaper. I understand that the political struggle is going on, and I support the opinion that the Union Government should resign, but it is doubtful that anybody will insist on its resignation just because its cultural policy has gone astray. Political struggle is going on, and the ROSSIYA newspaper, naturally, cannot help but be a part of it, insisting on Russia's priorities. All of that is true. But are all means good in such a struggle? Why should democracy stoop to the level of "yellowing officialdom?" It is time to understand that the end never justifies the means. Unfortunately, increasingly often a quote from "Chapayev" comes to mind: "The Whites come to plunder, and the Reds come to plunder..." By that I mean not only Maria Dementyeva.

It is not my task to defend the USSR culture minister. Not because today it makes one unpopular, but because at this point, I think, he does not need it. I do not consider all his statements acceptable, not to mention some collective letters he has signed, or, for instance, his appeal on Central Television before the February demonstration. Aleksey the II, patriarch of Moscow and All Rus, did something similar but in a much more convincing way, publishing an appeal to the people in IZVESTIYA on the eve of November 7. It also seems to me that the activities of the USSR Ministry of Culture (including its reorganization) require a serious analysis. An analysis, not a vulgar cursing. It is also clear that there are things for which Nikolay Gubenko, in his new role, should be criticized for. At the same time, in my memory we have not had yet a USSR culture minister who would have made such an effort to defend the interests of culture—and the interests of people of culture—before the parliament, the government, and the USSR president. In substance, M. Dementyeva accuses N. Gubenko of not being the minister of finance and of not having the majority in parliament. Well, sad as it may be, the minister of culture is not the minister of finance. I should note that in his fight for the interests of culture, N. Gubenko strives towards cooperation with different social forces, including, and first of all, with the Orthodox church and other religious groups. Just as M. Dementyeva, I was puzzled by the play by D. Juan about the love of a French diplomat for a Chinese actor passing himself as a woman but being in reality a Chinese intelligence agent. But, perhaps, we should leave it to the USSR Ministry of Culture to decide how to spend scarce hard currency—to pay for the rights to the play "M. Butterfly," or to buy musical instruments, paint, and paintbrushes.

Let us stop here, however. I do not want the readers to perceive these lines as a defense of the minister. After all, an all-Union minister is not a dissident or a disgraced writer. In the worst case scenario he will resign, which will give us back a good actor and a serious director.

There is no need to be concerned about N. Gubenko's fate. What is alarming are the newspaper-political manners that are taking hold. Or, to put it simply, the collective, "party" boorishness that is being used. M. Dementyeva ends her article with these remarkable lines: "...In all the years of Soviet power we have been ruled by 'cooks.' Oh, God, when will the time come when the cooks stay in the kitchen, the actors stick to acting, and management is done by professionals?" This was printed in the newspaper published by Russia's legislature, which has just appointed actor Yuriy Solomin RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Minister of Culture. What is it—"party above the truth" again?..

Zionist Groups Linked to USSR 'Brain Drain'

91UN0601A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
19 Dec 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by G. Orlov: "Who Is Organizing the Brain Drain from the USSR?"]

[Text] The subject of permanent residence abroad has recently been mentioned frequently on the pages of Soviet central publications. The volume varies, but virtually every newspaper and journalist has broached this subject. The authors of the pieces being published on the subject of departure agree on one thing, namely that mass emigration is inflicting serious political, economic, and moral harm on the country, not to mention the thousands of human destinies affected. The brain drain—the departure of active young people and skilled specialists—is weakening our state, holding back its economic development, and lowering the intellectual potential.

Analyzing the reasons for the increased emigration, many are referring first and foremost to the political and economic instability in the country and the deterioration in interethnic relations. But it is not without justification that it is linked to the problems with the way perestroika is going. It is indicative that no one seriously considers that the problem can be resolved by restricting or banning emigration. Time has led us to an understanding that the situation of "stop and do not permit" has no right to life in a rule-of-law state, while the principle of free movement and choice of country of residence is an important and integral part of international human rights agreements.

However, the right of each individual to decide independently the question of country of residence, it would seem, in no way means that anyone else is given the right to manipulate this problem and incite emigration by playing on people's national sentiments. It is, for example, a question of the pro-Zionist or openly Zionist structures that have recently been set up and are now operating actively in the USSR, structures whose main purpose is to urge the maximum possible number of Jews to go to live in Israel. "What are these structures?" is the question that probably the overwhelming majority of those reading these lines will ask. "It is the first time we have heard about them!" The assertion demands a specific example.

Moscow, August 1989. At a constituent congress about 40 people from several cities in the Soviet Union set up the "Irgun Tsion" ("Union of Zionists") Zionist organization.

In October of the same year publication of the weekly journal KOL TSION ("The Voice of Zion") appears—the print organ of that same political organization.

Moscow, December 1989. The Second "Irgun Tsion" Congress takes place. The February issue of KOL TSION provides telephone numbers in 86 cities of the USSR where "Irgun Tsion" has offices.

Moscow, 14-15 October 1990. The Third "Irgun Tsion" Congress is held. The number of delegates attending is more than twice as many as at the first congress. Foreign guests are present. It is seen in reports by the organization's leaders that by then it has branches in 50 cities,

while the monetary fund, set up mainly from contributions from Israel, is 500,000 rubles [R].

The congress decides to hold a constituent congress of the Zionist Federation of the USSR on 27 and 28 November in Moscow. Its aim: to consolidate the "Jewish movement in order to resolve the practical tasks of repatriation" (by repatriation the Zionists mean a return to the historical motherland in Israel from the territory of residence, that is, the Soviet Union), and to create an All-Jewish Committee for Repatriation. It can be seen from the document circulated by the congress organizing committee that it includes representatives of "Irgun Tsion," the "Banim-Banot" Jewish Children's Association, "Betar," the "Alef" Club (Baku), and the "Hatikva" Society (Minsk).

The framework of this article does not allow us to reveal in detail the activity of these and other Zionist organizations, or to unmask the mechanism whereby they interact, or the forms and methods of their work. But it is possible to ask quite specific questions. How, for example, do we explain the fact that our mass media, which are so eager to reveal even very insignificant political events, have virtually almost completely "failed to notice" the creation and active functioning of Zionist organizations in the country?

Well, not completely. If we are objective to the last, it must be said that issue No. 43 of OGONEK for October 1990 did find room to present the opinion of a member of the political council of the "Irgun Tsion" organization of Soviet Zionists, Eli Livshits, on the subject of the findings of the court in the case of the anti-Semitic extremist K. Smirnov-Ostashvili. Yet another small step has been taken on the path of legalizing Zionism.

Consideration of this subject also leads to these kinds of questions: Why do the mass media in the West, which write in quite a detailed way about the Soviet Union, not offer material on the presence and activity of the Zionist organizations in our country? And finally, why has there been no official statement concerning the presence of Zionist organizations here in the country?

These are not idle questions and anxieties. Too often the mistakes and distortions in the sphere of interethnic relations turn into tragedies. The indulgence of some nationalist extremists immediately prompts activity on the part of "offended" nationalists on the other wing.

In our extraordinarily complex, multinational life there should not be instances and processes that are unequally open to publicity, in just the same way that there should not be prejudice or lack of objectivity toward them. This is an essential condition, one without which even eliminating the important causes of the exacerbation of the situation in the sphere of interethnic relations will provide no positive result. This is an old truth, but unfortunately it is sometimes forgotten.

Officials Outline New Public Health Law

PM0701130591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Jan 91 Union Edition p 4

[Interviews with A. Kondrusev, USSR deputy health minister and USSR chief state public health inspector, and Academician of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Yu. Borodin, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Public Health Committee, by L. Ivchenko: "My Public Health Inspectorate Protects Me"]

[Text] ...In December 1989, as a result of a leak of toxic substances from the territory of Gorlovka Chemical Plant, workers at the "Aleksandr-Zapad" mine were poisoned by chlorobenzene and the mine galleries were polluted. A government commission went to work. The disaster, it became clear, had been slowly brewing for a long time. The oblast public health and epidemiology service had repeatedly demanded that officials adopt urgent measures in connection with the leak of toxic substances and had even submitted materials to the rayon prosecutor's office. But the office merely confined itself to warning the plant administration. And what else could have been done? The violation of norms and rules is not the same as breaking the law...

That is why today the draft "Fundamentals of USSR and Union Republic Public Health Legislation" elaborated in the USSR Ministry of Health are so topical. The complex environmental health situation in the country is prompting justified complaints from people, who are demanding that public health oversight be stepped up.

"We are still being guided in our work by a plethora of ordinances which are often obsolete," A. Kondrusev, USSR deputy health minister and chief USSR state public health inspector, said. "They do not reflect the changed public health, epidemiology, and radiation situation, the threat of the spread of AIDS, and the contamination of food products by pesticides, nitrates, and other substances dangerous to people's health. All this naturally has an effect on people's health. It is no accident that since 1971 the overall death rate has grown from 8.2 per 1,000 inhabitants to 10.1, and we are in 54th place out of 60 developed countries for male life expectancy and 47th for female life expectancy. If 40 million people in our country live in cities where air pollution is 10 times the norm, what kind of health can we expect? And indeed we cannot call the epidemiological situation satisfactory either; outbreaks of infection appear now in one place, now in another, and public health inspectors put out these 'fires,' but the seats of the fires still smolder... Infectious diseases cost the country huge sums every year—in 1989 the damage resulting from them totalled 8 billion rubles [R]."

[Ivchenko] But what does public health legislation change here?

[Kondrusev] A great deal! Partly because it gives the public health inspector the right to punish violations of the law. For the public health inspectorate essentially has

no rights at the moment: The most it can do in a rayon, for example, is to fine people around R10, which no one considers to be real money any more. An "oblast-scale" fine is R30. Imagine: A certain culinary production unit poisoned hundreds of children with its cakes, but the culprits were fined just R10... The cooks at a school cafeteria in Snovitsy, a suburb of Vladimir, gave the children cutlets that hospitalized 130 young schoolchildren the next day... Or another example: An enterprise pollutes a river, which entails incalculable consequences for the environment and people's health, but the public health inspectorate does not have the right to close this production unit if it is one of union significance: There is a resolution that prohibits this unless it has been agreed with the USSR Council of Ministers. One resolution excludes another, thus restricting the rights of the public health inspector. No organization will be able to neutralize a law, and it gives the public health inspectorate the right to adopt the most severe measures and punish the culprits according to the violation. The inspectorate answers only to the law.

[Ivchenko] What are the sanctions envisaged by the document for violations?

[Kondrusev] The size of the fines is being sharply increased—up to R1,000. Incidentally, this money will be spent on improving conditions at the installation or the environment, and creating conditions for a healthy way of life. And if there has been direct damage to health, then the culprit who violated public health legislation must pay compensation for it. The draft law also provides for cases where materials will be referred to the prosecutor's office. So that the effectiveness of the measures will be high.

A great deal of time and work was put into this draft law. Union republic governments and supreme soviets and republic health ministries participated in discussing it, and the observations made by specialists and the medical community were published in the press. The republics reacted with approval to the draft law and unity of positions and mutual understanding were reached. [Kondrusev ends]

"This is very important," Academician of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Yu. Borodin, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Public Health Committee, said. "After all, infection knows nothing of borders and nationalities. In a situation where we are moving toward the market and where interrepublic and international contacts are being expanded and a common economic space is being created, unified public health norms and requirements are needed for goods, products, and conditions. Otherwise infection will rampage around the country, if there is no unified strategy or tactics for repulsing it. Take even the factor of private enterprise, including the preparation of food products. The manufacturer bears responsibility for the quality and safety of his products. But now he will have to answer in accordance with the law."

[Ivchenko] Could you list the most important provisions in the new document?

[Borodin] First, the right of citizens to a favorable environment has been clearly defined. And this is by no means pandering to legislative fashion, but an attempt to make the draft law serve the individual. It is obvious that in order to preserve their health, people must live in conditions that do not have a harmful influence on them or on the health of future generations and that are satisfactory from the public health and epidemiological viewpoint and safe so far as radiation is concerned. To ensure that this law does not become just another declaration, guarantees have been envisaged for its implementation—primarily citizens' right to receive full and reliable information on the state of the environment and on plans and decisions whose implementation may affect it and the population's health. This is the second innovative aspect. Remember what happened with Chernobyl, when the press found it difficult to obtain information that was being hushed up and kept from publication. The law imposes an obligation to allow extensive coverage of things that were more often than not closed to the press.

As we can see, the document is democratic and extends the rights of the individual. The draft "Fundamentals of Public Health Legislation" also envisages the juridical liability of enterprises and organizations for the state of the environment and proposes to enshrine citizens' rights to compensation for damage to their health caused by any types of contamination of food products or installations. Another important provision is that the law makes the State Public Health Inspectorate independent.

Literary Weekly Defends Property Rights

91UN0629B Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 52, 26 Dec 90 p 2

[Unattributed article: "The Law Will Decide"]

[Text] As is known, the lawsuit of the USSR Writers' Union against ZNAMYA magazine has been dismissed by the court. A similar lawsuit has been filed against LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. However, the court hearing set for 20 December did not take place: At the request of the USSR Writers' Union it was rescheduled for January. The reason was the sabbatical of V. Karpov, first secretary of the USSR Writers' Union. In general, this is a respectable excuse, although we do see V. Karpov on television almost every day among the participants of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

Instead of hearing the matter in court in accordance with the law, on the same day, 20 December, the secretariat of the USSR Writers' Union adopted a resolution "On the needs of editorial staffs of periodicals which are subsidiaries of the publishing and production association of the USSR Writers' Union." As the reader will see, this resolution represents another attempt to tighten economic sanctions against our newspaper.

The first step in this direction was made earlier when the secretariat of the Writers' Union adopted a resolution "On changing the functions of the publishing and production entity LITERATURNAYA GAZETA." This resolution was aimed at separating the "Literaturnaya Gazeta" publishing house from our editorial staff and even attempted to rename it into a publishing-production association of the USSR Writers' Union.

Moreover, the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editor in chief, who by virtue of his position is also chairman of the publishing house council, was removed from the leadership of the association in violation of the publishing and production association rules adopted by the same Writers' Union secretariat.

Articles 4.3 and 6.1 of the rules of the "Literaturnaya Gazeta" publishing and production association read: "The highest administrative organ of the publishing house is the council headed by the chairman... The chairman of the council is the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editor in chief. Reorganization and cessation of publishing house operations is done by the governing board of the USSR Writers' Union on the basis of the decision of the publishing house council." A meeting of the governing board was not called; a gross violation of the rules took place. The association, however, grew out of the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editorial staff and the publishing house; it had been growing virtually on the basis of profits from the newspaper alone, and for many years had provided for the material and technical, production, financial and economic, and social and everyday needs of editorial staff activities.

Now, however, one more illegal resolution has been adopted by the secretariat of the Writers' Union, grossly violating the quality and the extent of established financial, social, and production ties between the publishing house and the editorial offices. It is signed by USSR Writers' Union secretaries S. Kolov, Yu. Bondarev, S. Mikhalkov, V. Rasputin, V. Telpugov, A. Ivanov, F. Kuznetsov, P. Proskurin, M. Alekseyev, N. Gorbachev, Ye. Isayev, Yu. Gribov, I. Stadnyuk, K. Skvortsov, V. Karpov, T. Minullin, V. Krupin, and Yu. Verchenko. In short, less than one half of the secretariat. It is possible that many of the majority, left unaware of this matter, would have voted against this resolution.

The substance of the resolution is how to make life harder for the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editorial staff collective. For instance, the resolution prescribes taking away five rooms which are used by duty editors; evicting the library, the proofreaders group, and the bibliography and information service; cutting down on the number of cars attached to the editorial staff, and reducing the number of shuttle bus runs. Other "small items" that have not been overlooked are the privileges of using the writers' polyclinic and the number of vouchers for its own resort.

We would prefer not to get into the quarrel of property division with our own publishing house and its services.

We have earned this property together. Before this conflict with the Writers' Union we had never had any arguments—everything was decided fairly in accordance with each collective's contribution.

The contribution is obvious (to demonstrate the point we will show only profitability for the last two years), in 1,000 rubles: LITERATURNAYA GAZETA—(1989 audited) +32,473, (1990 plan) +17,495; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA-DOSSIER—(1989 audited) +70, (1990 plan) +562; NASH SOVREMENNİK—(1989 audited) +1,129, (1990 plan) +2,294; Auto transport—(1989 audited) +77, (1990 plan) +211; Printing house—(1989 audited) +66, (1990 plan) -324; LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA—(1989 audited) -43, (1990 plan) -57; INFORMATSIONNYY BYULLETEN SP—(1989 audited) -23, (1990 plan) -26; MOSKOVSKIY LITERATOR—(1989 audited) -48, (1990 plan) -51

For many years profits from publishing LITERATURNAYA GAZETA financed not only the growth of the publishing house with all its divisions, but also the editorial staffs of other publications, and we did not regard it as charity. We stood firmly on our feet, and time was needed for our colleagues to get on their feet too. We also invested a lot in development of production facilities and in the social infrastructure. The higher the distribution figures were for our newspaper, the more such opportunities we had. The volume of work kept growing—the staffing for the publishing house, the printing facility, the auto garage, and for social services kept increasing. Our business remained the same: to keep up readers' interest in the newspaper, because it was the subscription income that actually supported the financial well-being of both LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and other, less widely distributed, publications.

Of course, we are far from attributing all profit from the newspaper to the efforts of the editorial staff. It shared the labor of the printing house, the auto garage, the publishing house financial department, and administrative personnel. However, if we assume that the profit from the final product, the newspaper, was earned by all of us equally and that there would be a proportional share of profit for each ruble paid for our work, fairly uncomplicated accounting shows that the greater part of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA profits should stay with the editorial staff.

As is known, the results of the subscription drive show that all publications now face a problem of survival. We are no exception. Elementary calculations show that even if we only double our budgeted expenses and also take into account the new tax system, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA will barely make ends meet. In these new economic conditions we have to look for new solutions which are not ordinary. For that we need first of all legal and economic independence. We need to have our hands untied!

Meanwhile, the arbitrary interference by the Writers' Union into the long standing ties between the editorial offices and the publishing house not only limits our freedom, but also threatens the work of the creative collective and the publication of the newspaper itself; it damages the cultural process, the cause of glasnost, and the interests of millions of readers.

In our opinion, these actions by the secretariat of the Writers' Union contradict Decree No. 835 of the USSR Council of Ministers, dated 16 August 1990, "On measures to demonopolize the people's economy," and the decrees of the USSR president dated 27 September 1990, "On immediate measures to stabilize economic ties in the fourth quarter of 1990 and during 1991," and December 14, 1990, "On measures to avoid the disorganization of production resulting from the unsatisfactory pace of entering economic contracts for deliveries of goods in 1991."

We have already written about the fact that last year the USSR Writers' Union, in contradiction to the law, confiscated R50 million from the publishing and production association's bank account. This amount constitutes two thirds of the newspaper budget accumulated by us over a long period of activities.

We want to repeat: So far we have not raised the question of dividing the property and savings accumulated as a result of many years of work by the entire LITERATURNAYA GAZETA collective. However, the latest action of the Writers' Union forces us to face the hard necessity of such a division. Therefore, we propose bringing up the question of the division of property and accumulated monetary funds between LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and the publishing house in State Arbitration. Since we are entering the stage of a law-governed society, all arguments of this nature should be resolved by law, not by departmental decrees. Then there will not be grounds for mutual accusations and reproaches.

Gorbachev Signs Defense Industry Chief's Obituary

PM0401161991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Jan 91 Second Edition p 8

[Obituary of V.V. Bakhirev]

[Excerpts] Vyacheslav Vasilyevich Bakhirev, eminent defense industry organizer, Hero of Socialist Labor, winner of USSR Lenin and State Prizes, former USSR machine building minister, and personal pensioner of union status, died suddenly on 2 January 1991 in his 75th year.

V.V. Bakhirev was born on 17 September 1916 in the village of Dudorovo, Savinskiy Rayon, Ivanovo Oblast, the son of a peasant. [passage omitted]

V.V. Bakhirev was appointed first deputy minister of the USSR defense industry.

In 1968 V.V. Bakhirev was entrusted with the task of setting up the USSR Ministry of Machine Building, which he headed until his retirement in 1987. [passage omitted]

[Signed] M.S. Gorbachev, O.D. Baklanov, I.S. Belousov, B.M. Belousov, O.S. Belyakov, Ye.I. Vitkovskiy, L.A. Voronin, V.K. Gusev, V.Kh. Doguzhiyev, L.V. Zabelin, L.N. Zaykov, V.A. Ivashko, I.V. Koksanov, V.G. Kolesnikov, I.P. Kornitskiy, F.Ya. Kotov, G.I. Marchuk, Yu.D. Maslyukov, E.K. Pervyshin, N.I. Ryzhkov, L.D. Ryabev, L.V. Smirnov, V.I. Smyslov, A.S. Systsov, P.V. Finogenov, S.P. Chernov, N.A. Shakhov, O.S. Shenin, V.I. Shimko, O.N. Shishkin, and D.T. Yazov

Retired KGB General Mortin Dies 'Suddenly'

PM0801084591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 5 Jan 91 First Edition p 8

[Obituary of Lieutenant General (Retired) F.K. Mortin]

[Excerpts] Lieutenant General (Retired) Fedor Konstantinovich Mortin, member of the CPSU since 1939 and honored state security staffer, has died suddenly. A loyal son of the Soviet people who devoted his life to selflessly serving the motherland and strengthening its security has died.

F.K. Mortin was born 2 May 1918. [passage omitted].

In 1953, F.K. Mortin transferred to work in the USSR KGB, where he held leadership posts in the First Main Directorate, which he led 1971 through 1974. [passage omitted]

[Signed] USSR KGB Collegium

Leaders Sign Obituary of Cosmonaut Lazarev

PM0801102791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Jan 91 Second Edition p 4

[Obituary of V.G. Lazarev]

[Excerpts] Retired Colonel Vasilii Grigoryevich Lazarev, USSR pilot-cosmonaut and Hero of the Soviet Union, has died in his 63d year after a long and serious illness.

V.G. Lazarev was born 23 February 1928 in the village of Poroshino, Kytmanovskiy Rayon, Altay Kray. [passage omitted]

[Signed] M.S. Gorbachev, V.M. Afanasyev, O.D. Baklanov, O.S. Belyakov, I.S. Belousov, G.M. Bekov, Yu.N. Glazkov, P.S. Deynekin, V.A. Ivashko, P.I. Klimuk, A.I. Lukyanov, A.A. Leonov, Yu.D. Maslyukov, A.I. Malyukov, V.L. Maksimov, M.Kh. Manarov, A.G. Nikolayev, A.N. Soshnikov, G.S. Titov, O.S. Shenin, V.A. Shatalov, G.I. Yanayev, and D.T. Yazov

Father Lazar's Associates Reject Burglary Story

PM0401161591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Jan 91 Union Edition p 8

[Unattributed report: "Priest Murdered"]

[Text] INTERFAX has reported that Father Lazar, secretary to Bishop Grigoriy Mozhaiyskiy and one of the closest advisers of Metropolitan Yuvenaliy of Kolomna and Krutiskiy, has been murdered in his apartment in Moscow.

According to the current information, Father Lazar was a member of the commission set up by the Moscow patriarchate to investigate the murder of Aleksandr Men last year. INTERFAX reports: According to the militia's version, the murder of this priest was committed for the purpose of burglary. However the agency, citing the deceased's immediate associates, reports that no robbery took place.

Your IZVESTIYA correspondent contacted Aleksey Bugayev, deputy chief of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Internal Affairs Main Administration. For operational reasons, however, he declined to comment and provided no details. Nevertheless, he did promise to give IZVESTIYA detailed information on the course of the investigation in the next few days.

Economic

1991 Economic Forecasts Examined

PM0601211391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
7 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by Yu. Rytov: "On the Eve of the Shock; Statistical Survey of the Past Year"]

[Text] I have in front of me a letter from M. Bernstamm, senior staffer at the Hoover Institute (United States). Assessing the current state of the Soviet economy, he asks an interesting question: Why cry wolf, if the worse has already happened? The paradoxical conclusion reached by the U.S. scientist is that we should not be afraid... of the "shock therapy," since it has been in operation in our country for a long time. Total shortages, after all, are precisely what this "therapy" involves.

We have started the New Year with depressing results and thoughts. According to official data, the national income produced in 1990 fell by four percent, or almost 30 billion rubles [R]. Labor productivity fell by three percent. Currency issuance was double the planned figure and totaled approximately R24 billion. This unbalanced the consumer market. The state budget deficit totals R58 billion. In capital construction the above-plan growth of unfinished projects reached R25 billion, while the volume of commissioned housing and social and cultural facilities decreased.

Our affairs in the world market are no cause for joy either. Exports fell by 12 percent, while the need for hard currency is rising. Despite the bumper harvest, we will have to buy 30 million tonnes of grain. But we also need other food products, we need medicines, and all kind of other goods, not to mention new equipment and technologies.... We are gratefully accepting parcels from abroad, but are they likely to save our country?

Where is the hard currency coming from? Obligatory payments to service the foreign debt will rise to R9 billion in hard currency this year. Meanwhile Western businessmen are refusing to grant us credits on a commercial basis....

What will happen tomorrow? Or rather today, that is to say this year?

Here are the official forecasts. Reduction of the national income by 1.5 percent (that is R15 billion). A further decline of industrial production in general. At the same time, the monetary incomes of the population are to increase by 11.1 percent, or R71 billion (against 14.6 percent or R81 billion in the past year).

How can this be—production is declining and the population's incomes are rising? The explanation is simple. A redistribution of the national income will take place. The consumption fund is to increase to 87.2 percent against 79.8 percent in 1990. The structural shift of 7.4 percent will mean a regrouping of resources totaling around R70 billion from the production and investment sphere of the accumulation fund to the consumption fund.

It would appear that instead of sinking money into "construction projects of the century," we will give it to people. This maneuver only makes sense if the money is covered by goods, however. In other words, if there is something to spend the money on.

In official documents we read: Production in Group "B" will increase by 4.4 percent while production in Group "A" decreases by four percent. Agricultural production will increase by 5.5 percent.

As we can see, the increase in the production of goods is again failing to keep pace with money supply. Let us not be hasty with conclusions, however. The program for the stabilization of the economy incorporates a "trump card." In order to tie up the "surplus" money, it is planned to sharply expand the range of investment opportunities.

So, the state is hoping to make R5 billion through the sale of housing to the population. A further R5 billion in hard currency. The sale of plots of land for horticultural purposes, vegetable growing, and dacha construction is to bring in a further R5 billion. According to preliminary estimates, the population will invest R12 billion in the acquisition of shares, and R14 billion in the acquisition of fixed capital. This will take care of R41 billion.

How realistic are all these components which underpin the structural perestroika, however? The difficulties that arose during the past year with the deliveries of coal, gas, gasoline, rolled ferrous metal, steel pipes, polymers, and timber materials are well known. What will happen when their production falls? What about the shortage of electricity that is sharply felt even today? After all, the plan targets were based on normal economic relations between enterprises. It is these relations that have not been assured. At the beginning of the year contracts for the delivery of goods covered only 60 percent of the requirement. Even if the measures adopted by the USSR president and the government of the country were to sooner or later produce the required results, it would hardly prove possible to make up for lost time.

Indeed, in the provisions of the plan for the current year the word "if" comes up too often. The state budget also hinges on it. Without all the "ifs" the budget deficit would be somewhere in the region of R250 billion. But... if another tax is introduced, a sales tax (without abolishing the current turnover tax), the deficit is immediately reduced by almost R40 billion. If free residual resources of enterprises are absorbed into stabilization funds and the money earned as a result of the privatization of state property is added to this, the deficit is cut by a further R110 billion. And so on, and so forth. As a result we arrive at a tolerable deficit level as it were—R59 billion [figure as published], of which only R13 billion fall to the Union budget.

True, certain of these "ifs" amount to new "rules of the game," doing away with laws that have not even come into force yet (the law on enterprise taxation, for example). But that is another topic.

There is no denying that it is difficult to forecast anything at the moment. But there are people who manage it. At the beginning of last year the CIA and the Defense Intelligence Agency prepared an analytical survey of the state of the Soviet economy and its prospects.

"In view of the scale of the problems in the economic sphere and the inadequacy of the crucial measures adopted by the leadership up to now," the survey notes, "it is to be expected that the economic indicators in 1990 will at best remain at the level of 1989, or deteriorate slightly, and given certain circumstances, they may deteriorate rapidly."

In the opinion of the authors of the survey, what measures could improve the country's economy? In principle, it is the same range of measures as those set forth in the Union "Basic Guidelines for the Stabilization of the Economy and the Transition to a Market Economy," and the Russian "500 Days" program. What is surprising, in my opinion, is not the "coincidence" of these measures, but the slow pace at which we tackle the implementation of these measures! Not just the slow pace, but also the amazing timidity.

Primarily this applies to the key problem of establishing market relations—the ways and means of privatizing state property.

Let me remind you: The Union "Basic Guidelines" propose to resolve the problem of destatization of property mainly by means of turning enterprises into joint stock companies through the gradual sale of shares. Small enterprises, especially in the trade and consumer services sphere, can be acquired as private property, but they have to be paid for with people's own money.

The "500 days" plan makes provisions for the transfer of state property to citizens. The share of the privatization without payment will, judging by appearances, be quite insignificant, however. It is above all a question of apartments in long-term use with minimal floor space per user, small-scale plots of land, and so forth. With regard to more substantial assets, the program warns: "...the state cannot, and must not, hand out its property. Ownership has to be earned, since people neither have faith in give-aways nor appreciate them." So how much time will be needed for citizens to earn even a small part of these assets, for the much-vaunted equality of all types of ownership to become reality, for people to master market methods of management, and for the powerful incentives for productive labor to come into play?

It is impossible to disagree with the opinion of the CIA analysts:

"Even if the economic reform is implemented in the USSR within the next few years, and the socioeconomic unrest is kept within a controllable range, the fruits will be slow to materialize. A better balance between the production and consumption market must be achieved already during the initial stage. It will take more time for economic managers and workers to adjust to the new range of incentives and even longer—possibly until the beginning of the next century—for the structural changes, necessary to carry out a modernization of the Soviet means of production of civilian goods to match world standards, to take shape."

As we can see, the Americans also make their forecasts dependant on one big "IF." The most important one of all. Essentially, everything hinges on it today.

Planning Chief Views Latest Economic Decrees

PM0801095791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Jan 91 Second Edition p 1

[Interview with V. Gribov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, by TASS correspondent R. Akhmetov; place and date not given: "On the Road To Stabilizing the Economy. Commentary on President of the Country's Decrees"]

[Text] The USSR president's new decrees "On the creation of extrabudgetary funds in 1991 for stabilizing the economy" and "On the introduction of a sales tax" were a step forward toward securing the country's normal

economic development in conditions of transition to market relations. TASS correspondent R. Akhmetov asked V. Gribov, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee], to explain some details.

[Akhmetov] What made it necessary to adopt these decrees?

[Gribov] The country's economy is in an extremely bad way. Production volumes are declining, social labor productivity is falling, and it is not proving possible to stabilize the consumer market situation. The foreign economic situation has become complicated. As a result the financial situation continues to deteriorate. Even the major measures envisaged by the USSR Government to cut 1991 expenditures on defense and administration, on industrial investments, and on subsidizing unprofitable enterprises are not enough to balance the Union and republic budgets.

The development of base sectors of the economy is now becoming the most important task. Stabilized funds have been brought forth to secure the normal functioning of these key sectors, which constitute the backbone of our economy and are a guarantee for ensuring the successful functioning of the country's whole economic complex. Major investments of resources for structural restructuring of the economy and development of the sectors working directly for people are also needed.

Transition to the market will objectively place enterprises of various sectors in unequal economic conditions. The hardest-hit will be enterprises which sell their output at fixed prices, have a high share of the state order, or are "tied" by direct contracts which need to be preserved in 1991. In other words, they are enterprises with the least market scope. They will objectively require financial support.

The republics' economic problems cannot go unmentioned. In 1991 a whole series of republics will require subventions.

Of course, special care in the coming year should be taken in implementing the major social programs adopted by the supreme organs of power of the country and republics. Over 47 billion rubles [R] will be needed to finance them. For your information, similar expenditures throughout the 12th Five-Year Plan came to around R32 billion.

The USSR president's decrees will enable the resources for achieving these and other aims to be mobilized.

[Akhmetov] How was the preparation of the decrees carried out and with whom were they discussed?

[Gribov] The USSR Supreme Soviet is devoting constant attention to the question of devising and implementing measures to stabilize the economy. This problem was reflected in "The Basic Trends for Stabilizing the National Economy and Switching to a Market Economy." It was widely and comprehensively discussed by the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

The question of creating a fund for stabilizing the economy and introducing sales taxes received republics' support in principle during the work on the draft agreement for fiscal year 1991 on stabilizing the socioeconomic situation in the country.

[Akhmetov] Who will dispense these financial resources?

[Gribov] The question of distributing the resources between all-Union and republic funds for stabilizing the economy will be determined by the agreement. Accordingly the procedure for using the funds will be established by the USSR Government and the governments of Union republics. I do not presume to preempt their decisions. Another thing is important. The assets of the funds for stabilizing the economy cannot be channeled into covering the budget deficit. They will have a strictly targeted purpose, as specified by the decree.

As regards the sales tax, 70 percent of the assets from the total sum of receipts will be channeled into republic and local budgets and 30 percent into the Union budget for financing social programs.

Four Percent Drop in 'National Revenue' Reported *LD0501202491 Moscow World Service in English* *1200 GMT 5 Jan 91*

[Text] National revenue in the Soviet Union fell by four percent last year, according to official data. Efficiency dropped by three percent. Excessive money supply doubled the planned level and ran into 24 billion rubles. The consumer market is unbalanced. The state budget deficit stands at 58 billion rubles. The Soviet Union's affairs on the world market are not any better. Export declined by 12 percent and the need in hard currency went up. With the biggest ever harvest last year, the nation is to buy 30 million tonnes of grain abroad.

Fines Increased To Combat Freight Delays *PM0801093791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian* *7 Jan 91 Second Edition p 1*

[TASS report: "Fine for Freightcars Standing Idle"]

[Text] There has been a sharp deterioration lately in the use of railroad rolling stock and containers. Every day more than 30,000 freightcars are not unloaded at the prescribed time. As a result the economy's requirements for freight shipments, above all of fuel, ore and metallurgical raw materials, timber, food, and consumer goods are not being fully satisfied.

In order to enhance the effectiveness of the use of freightcars and containers the USSR Council of Ministers has resolved to increase fivefold the fines provided for by the USSR Railroad Statutes for the period 1 January through 30 April for delaying beyond the prescribed periods freightcars and containers presented for loading, unloading, or shipment. It has been decided that two-fifths of the increase in the aforementioned fines will be left at the disposal of the railroads, consignors,

and consignees respectively, while three-fifths is to be channeled into the Union budget.

Overseas Rail Costs Tied to Exchange Rates

PM0701142991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Jan 91 Union Edition p 8

[Interview with V. Ginko, USSR first deputy minister of railways, by N. Burbyga; place and date not given: "To Paris—for Rubles!"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] According to a USSR Council of Ministers resolution, as from 1 Jan 1991 a new procedure for paying for journeys on international passenger rail transport has been introduced. At the request of the editorial office, V. Ginko, USSR first deputy minister of railways, comments on this change.

[Ginko] We examined several options for paying for journeys on international passenger railway transportation. We chose, in my view, the most promising one. Very little has changed for passengers. Soviet citizens will pay for their tickets in rubles, as before. But the "hard currency" part of the journey through foreign territory is now calculated in rubles based on the exchange rate vis-a-vis the foreign currency operating at the time the train documents are obtained.

[Burbyga] Could you illustrate this with an example....?

[Ginko] I do not have the specific figures to hand, but in principle it will look like this. Suppose that you bought a ticket to Warsaw. Its price would be divided into two parts, as it were. You pay the normal tariff as far as Brest, but from Brest to Warsaw, you pay the commercial tariff.

[Burbyga] But the ruble's exchange rate will change....

[Ginko] Consequently the ticket tariff will also be a floating one.

[Burbyga] What is the reason for this change?

[Ginko] It is an enforced measure. We have switched to a commercial exchange rate for paying for journeys over foreign territory. We no longer receive hard currency on a centralized basis, as before. We have no means for settling up with foreign railways. This is why we made the decision—to buy hard currency from the banks at the commercial exchange rate of the ruble vis-a-vis foreign currencies in order to pay the foreign railways for passenger transportation. This is the purpose that the rubles received from the sale of tickets to our citizens will be used for.

First Siberian Trade Exchange Established

914A0248A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Dec 90 Union Edition p 1

[Article by Vladimir Sbitnev: "Creation of the Baykal Exchange"]

[Text] Ulan-Ude—About 60 enterprises, organizations, and firms of the Baykal area founded the first Siberian commodity exchange. Its ownership capital will be 10 million rubles [R].

The Baykal exchange has been set up as a joint-stock company. It will consist of three equally powered branches joined by one computer network. It will have a direct connection with the commodity exchange information structures of Russia and of the entire country. The equipment necessary for the operations is supposed to be supplied by the Soviet-Singapore firm Nekton-Rayta.

The shares of about R100,000 each will be bought primarily by government-owned enterprises as, for instance, the Irkutsk Cardan shaft plant or the Ulan-Ude "Elektromashina" plant. However, the Buryat Council of Ministers as well as departments of the Chita Gornopolkom [city soviet executive committee] and the Sovetskiy Rayispolkom [rayon soviet executive committee] of Ulan-Ude are also among the shareholders. They all decided to become directly involved in the development of wholesale trade and in the establishment of market relations in the area. The same can be said about some organizations of Yakutsk, Novosibirsk, Nizhnevartovsk, and even Minsk. Among the main founders of the exchange there is also the foreign trade association "Tekhnikimport" from the Mongolian People's Republic.

Scientific

Cosmonauts Complete Space Walk, External Checks

LD0801023591 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0000 GMT 8 Jan 91

[Text] Flight Control Center, 8 Jan (TASS)—Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov have carried out a space walk to repair the exterior hatch of the "Kvant-2" module and to perform planned work on the external surface of the station.

As already reported, the examination carried out by the previous crew showed the necessity of changing one of the fastening units of the hatch cover. For this purpose a new unit was delivered to the station on the "Soyuz TM-11" craft.

On 7 January at 2003 Moscow time [1703 GMT] Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov opened the airlock compartment of the "Kvant-2" module and went out onto the exterior surface of the "Mir" complex. With the help of special devices and instruments, the cosmonauts dismantled the hatch cover fastening unit which had gone out of action and installed a new one, which had been constructed taking into account the special features of assembly in conditions of open space.

After the functioning of the hatch was checked, the crew continued working on the station's external surface. The metal support construction which will be used in the

planned work with the solar batteries was carried out from the airlock compartment and installed on the module's docking device. Then the cosmonauts removed the television camera which was included in the video spectrum complex of the "Kvant-2" module and also the cartridge with samples of the super-conductive materials which remained outside the station during the year. The total time the crew spent in open space was five hours and 18 minutes. Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov are feeling well.

Science Official Views Salyut-7 Reentry

PM0801113591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jan 91 Second Edition p 1

[Report by special correspondent A. Tarasov under the rubric "Attention: Salyut-7": "Anton Davydovich Requests a Landing"]

[Text] The first person to whom the space department allocated the role of a heat shield against questions about Salyut-7 was our good acquaintance Leonid Alekseyevich Gorshkov, none other than the chief of the orbital stations design department of the "Energiya" Science and Production Association personally. At a briefing in the Foreign Ministry Press Center he presented a picture of an orbital slalom.

"The station is now functional," he began by saying. "The power supply system is working."

But then he specified that this functionality is limited, since there is no fuel in the tanks: It was all expended on raising the orbit in 1986. In addition, the station has lost its controllability, which has doomed it to an arbitrary descent.

It had been planned that it would be able to exist in a high orbit for 10-20 years, after which it would become technically possible (by means of "Buran," in particular) to bring the main units home. Let us agree that this would be a highly tempting experiment for spacecraft builders. But the sun rebelled. One year after raising the orbit, solar activity sharply increased the density of the atmosphere. Rapid braking began....

"But the solar cycles and the peaks of solar activity are well known, are they not? Why was this not taken into account?"

"The activity proved unpredictably high. I cannot recall such an increase in the atmosphere's density at such altitudes in all the years.... The atmosphere became three to four times denser and upset all the ballistic calculations.

"What is the complex like which is heading toward the earth? It is a 40-tonne mass, which includes two mighty units: Salyut-7 itself and Cosmos-1686—the prototype of the present modules."

"What is the likely debris that might reach the earth's surface?"

"The largest piece is on the order of three tonnes," Leonid Alekseyevich admitted with no particular enthusiasm. "Several dozen small ones, each weighing less than 10 kg."

The three-tonne piece turned out to be none other than the reentry vehicle of the Cosmos. Just imagine: Such a heat-resistant sphere, which, moreover, has not been undocked from the whole Salyut, is heading for the earth without any parachute.... Where will it fall?

"At present it is possible to speak of the whole sector of the planet between 51 degrees north and 51 degrees south, over which the flight path passes. We will know more accurately a few hours before it falls."

"Will the population of the 'risk zone' have time to take measures to protect or evacuate themselves?"

"I do not think this will be necessary. We have no fears that falling debris might harm anyone. The debris is falling over too large a territory, in a belt approximately 8,000 km long and 100km plus or minus 100 wide... [as published] The chief thing on which our optimism is based is the fact that empty spaces predominate on earth over these territories. Between 100 and tens of thousands of tonnes of meteorites of various sizes fall onto this belt of the planet every year, and we have not heard of any trouble...."

"Have the questions of rescuing such objects been raised? Maybe an automatic craft could repeat the feat of Dzhaniibekov and Savinykh—dock, deliver fuel, and carry out an order from earth for a controlled descent?"

"First, automatic equipment would be unable to carry out Dzhaniibekov's docking with an unresponsive and irregularly departing object.... Second, this is simply not necessary and entails unnecessary expenditure and extra risk. For the sake of what? I repeat, the likelihood of damage is minimal. The same as, let us say, if you were now to go out into the street and the first 10 men you encountered turned out to be Anton Davydovichs, and the first 10 women you met were Margarita Sergeyevnas...."

So, 10 February plus or minus 10 days. There is still time to insure oneself against all risks. It is not too late to announce a planetwide lottery: Whoever guesses the place where the sphere will fall will receive a free flight back to where he flew from, at the expense of the USSR Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology....

Siberians Fear Falling Rocket Debris

PM0801090991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
7 Jan 91 Union Edition p 1

[SIBINFORM report: "Rockets Will Go On Falling"]

[Text] Colonel General of Aviation German Titov, the second man in space, has held talks with representatives of Soviet power in Tyumen. The subject of the talks was

"Rocket Launcher Stages Falling on the Oblast's Territory," SIBINFORM reports.

"The Tyumen people are rightly concerned about rocket stages falling on their territory," German Titov said. "First of all, let me set people's minds at rest—our rockets are environmentally clean. Their fuel components are ordinary kerosene and oxygen."

That will not help local residents, who will still have to mind their heads...

Military

KGB Leader's Power, Role Within Army Eyed

AU0801095491 Dresden DRESDNER MORGENPOST
in German 6 Jan 91 p 2

[Report by Wolfgang Reichardt: "Now Tanks Are Rolling Under KGB Command"]

[Text] Moscow/Berlin—When Vladimir Aleksandr Kryuchkov appears, fear spreads. The square man with his Tartar's head unnerves visitors by incessantly squeezing tennis balls in his hand. The robust man, who is in his mid-sixties, has an iron fist. He is chief of the world's largest, most powerful, and most brutal secret service—the KGB. He enjoys Mikhail Gorbachev's confidence. Observers in Moscow are increasingly asking themselves whether Kryuchkov has not long become Gorbachev's secret opposite number.

What is dangerous in this connection is this: The KGB is now securing military power for itself—particularly in the Moscow military district, the most important one in the crumbling huge empire. According to our information, regular Army units are increasingly under Kryuchkov's command.

These are, above all, regiments that have been repatriated from the former GDR. For instance, according to statements of Soviet military officers, the construction regiment (with battle tanks and armored personnel carriers) which until the middle of 1990 was deployed in Jueterbog, and motorized battalions from the Neustrelitz area are now under KGB command. That was not even the case under Beria, the cruel KGB chief in the Stalin era.

Kryuchkov's open threat before the Congress of People's Deputies recently was a shock. The deputies reacted with frosty silence and petrified faces when he called for readiness to "shed blood" to restore order in the country. It was a warning to reformers within the administration and the Army, as well as the rebel republics.

The apparatchik of Tartar origin began his career as a factory worker, became a jurist on the basis of studies by correspondence courses, and then public prosecutor. Since 1974, he has headed the first main administration, meaning the whole foreign intelligence. He has had very good contacts with the Stasi [former GDR Ministry of

State Security] and Markus "Mischa" Wolf. Kryuchkov is known as a high-speed working robot. At the new KGB headquarters in Yasenevo (on the outer Moscow highway), there is a fitness room under his office, where he exercises with dumbbells and other apparatuses.

Defense Ministry Cites Military Call-up Problems

LD0701203191 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1740 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 7 Jan (TASS)—Today the press center of the USSR Ministry of Defense has made public a report on several additional measures regarding the carrying out of the military call-up taken by the ministry in the interests of its defense capacity.

The report says: "Recently the number of incidents of the bodies of power in several Union republics failing to carry out or inadequately carrying out the duties concerning matters of the defense of the country which USSR legislation has placed on them has increased. Acts contradicting this legislation remain in effect. It was stipulated in the presidential decree of 1 December 1990 that the provisions of these sort of acts have no legal force from the moment of their adoption and are not liable for enforcement by state or public bodies, by enterprises, establishments, organizations, or citizens. The measures necessary to restore legality and law and order in a number of places are not being taken, however.

Particular concern has been aroused by the situation regarding the call-up of citizens for full-time military service. On 1 January 1991 the fulfilment of the plan for the autumn call-up stood at the following levels: In Armenia—28.1 percent; in Georgia—10.0 percent; in Moldova—58.9 percent; in Lavia—25.3 percent; in Lithuania—12.5 percent; and in Estonia—24.5 percent. In several oblasts of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [UKSSR] the plan for the call-up has also not been fulfilled. In the country as a whole the plan for the call-up has been fulfilled to a level of 78.8 percent. This has a negative effect on bringing up to strength the numbers in the USSR Armed Forces and poses a threat to the resolution of the issues of defense capacity vital to the Soviet state. The shortfall in military units leads to additional burdens being placed upon servicemen, which runs counter to principles of social justice. Such a position cannot be tolerated.

The USSR Ministry of Defense is taking additional measures aimed at seeing the implementation of the decree of the USSR president from 1 December, 1990. Orders have been given to the commanders of forces in the relevant military areas to step up practical help to the military commissariats of Armenia, Georgia, Moldova, the Baltic republics, and several oblasts of the UKSSR to tackle the tasks that have been imposed upon them concerning carrying out the call-up of citizens for full-time military service and similarly concerning the organization of the tracking down and returning to duty of

servicemen who have deserted their military units. Subunits of the airborne forces will also be involved in carrying out the tasks laid down.

The leadership of the republics and the oblasts have been informed about the measures taken that have been prompted by the interests of guaranteeing the military readiness of the Armed Forces and the defense capacity of the country."

Deputy Defense Minister Achalov Interviewed

PM0701094991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 4 Jan 91 First Edition p 1

[Interview with USSR Deputy Defense Minister Colonel General V. Achalov by correspondent Lieutenant General A. Oliynik; place and date not given: "The Main Thing in a Military Career Is Labor"]

[Text] [Oliynik] Vladislav Alekseyevich, to judge by your biography with which KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already familiarized readers in connection with your appointment as deputy defense minister, you are climbing the career ladder rapidly. What in your view is the main thing in a military man's career?

[Achalov] A capacity for work and professionalism. I detect the implication of your question: Do I have protection? I shall say frankly that such rumors have reached me. In our family there have been no military men and no representatives in the top echelons of power. I allow that at some stages of service fate has smiled on me but in all posts I have counted primarily on myself, on my knowledge and work. For instance, recently regular soldiers calculated that this year for seven months I was on field trips, mainly in the country's "hot" spots.

[Oliynik] You headed the airborne troops for a relatively short time. What did you manage to do?

[Achalov] It is hard for me to judge myself but the question requires a specific answer. During the period of my command the airborne troops command and staff became 50 percent "younger." The units and subunits are now under the command of relatively young officers, many of whom passed through the crucible of Afghanistan and have rich combat experience. Incidentally, my successor in the post of commander of the airborne troops is Hero of the Soviet Union Major General P. Grachev, who fought in Afghanistan. This has breathed fresh life into the troops although I shall not conceal the fact that a younger officers' corps is not to everyone's liking....

[Oliynik] Incidentally, in connection with your appointment the press will probably raise a din about how the military ministry is inflating staffs....

[Achalov] You know, we have already become accustomed to these "dins." But I think that they are only raised by those press organs which do not often take the

trouble to dig for the truth. The thrust of the matter is that in connection with the military reform the military ministry's structure is changing considerably, and in the direction of a reduction. I think there will soon be an announcement in the press about it. In addition in accordance with the USSR people's deputies' mandates personnel is becoming younger not only in the troops but also in the ministry's central apparatus.

[Oliynik] Could you cite at least briefly the avenues of the Army's activity which you will keep an eye on?

[Achalov] In our stormy times the concept of the Armed Forces' combat readiness does not come down merely to the country's defense from an outside threat, it has a broad meaning. You recall the Chernobyl tragedy, the Armenian earthquake, the train crash near Ufa. The first on the scene of the accident were Army servicemen who, by their selfless actions, saved the lives of hundreds of people in trouble. In my new post I will engage in the problems of the troops who are being withdrawn from the East European countries and the Army's actions in extraordinary, extreme situations....

[Oliynik] What is your attitude toward military reform?

[Achalov] The Army and Navy are now more in need than ever of profound transformations. The forthcoming reform (incidentally, it is already underway among the troops) should considerably enhance the troops' mobility and raise the level of professionalization and consequently the personnel's combat skill, degree of training, and discipline will be raised by several degrees.

[Oliynik] One last question, Vladislav Alekseyevich. What in your view is the main thing now for Army and Navy servicemen?

[Achalov] The social and legal protection of soldiers, ensigns, officers, and their families. The more rapidly we succeed in resolving these undoubtedly complex questions, the more rapidly the shaken prestige of the man in shoulder boards will be boosted. I have a son who is a student at the Suvorov military school. Like any father I should like him to look into his future as an officer with confidence....

New Paratroop Commander Interviewed

PM0701120391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 5 Jan 91 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Hero of the Soviet Union Major General P. Grachev, commander of the Airborne Assault Forces, by "our correspondent" Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik under the rubric "First Interview in New Post"; place and date not given: "The Commander Is 42 Years Old"—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported that Hero of the Soviet Union Major General P. Grachev has been appointed commander of the Airborne Assault Forces.

Our correspondent met with the new, 42-year old, commander of the Airborne Assault Forces.

[Oliynik] Pavel Sergeyevich, you became first deputy commander of the Airborne Assault Forces this year and now you are commander. How unexpected was your appointment to you?

[Grachev] I will not hide the fact that my new appointment came as a surprise to me. It is hard for me to be objective, but I think that the fact that I had climbed all the rungs of the military ladder within the Airborne Assault Forces played a considerable role in my appointment. [passage omitted]

[Oliynik] How did you begin your activity after entering on duty?

[Grachev] By introducing myself to my subordinates and to the defense minister and his deputies.

[Oliynik] The assault forces' blue berets have recently been increasingly noticeable in areas of interethnic conflict....

[Grachev] Let us be blunt and say that I have a negative attitude to the use of assault troops in interethnic conflicts. MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and KGB troops must be enlisted for these purposes. On the other hand, you can hardly remain a detached observer when the blood of totally innocent people is being shed....

[Oliynik] What is your attitude to the idea of a professional Army?

[Grachev] I am in favor of professionalism from everyone.

Defense Spokesman Views Decision on Personal Arms

LD0401230891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2110 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Statement by M.O. Kashub, head of the USSR Ministry of Defense Press Center; place and date not given; from the "Television News Service" program—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] The USSR Minister of Defense recently allowed soldiers to carry personal arms. [passage omitted]

[Kashub] Here are some figures to consider: last year, civilians intentionally killed—I stress intentionally—89 soldiers, specifically, 30 officers, 14 warrant officers, 45 sergeants and soldiers on compulsory service. By themselves, these figures explain the reason for the adoption of this decision.

It is not a matter of the entire territory of any Union republic, but of individual areas, where the situation is, let us say, particularly acute and fraught with danger for soldiers and their families. For example, let us say, in the Baltic republics, at present, this decision is not yet in force. It will depend on how the situation develops. The

fact that this is permitted must warn those forces who may undertake terrorist acts or violence against soldiers.

I want to stress that an honest man has no reason to fear a soldier with a weapon. As we remember, here, a couple of months ago, certain individuals frightened society with talk of a military coup, moreover, they even named specific dates. Well, we have already entered the new year and as we see there is no military coup.

'Freedom of Conscience' Law's Impact Viewed

PM0701141991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Jan 91 Union Edition p 4

[Interview with Major General N. Grebenkin, deputy chief of the Ideological Work Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, by correspondent V. Litovkin; place and date not given: "Will Priests Return to the Army?"—first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] The Law "On Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations" is entering our life only with difficulty. Many of its articles need to be comprehended and verified in practice. In particular, our correspondent is told about the way it can be implemented in the Armed Forces by Major General N. Grebenkin, deputy chief of the Ideological Work Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

[Litovkin] Nikolay Aleksandrovich, how, in your opinion, will servicemen's religious needs be met in practice?

[Grebenkin] Frankly, there is still no fully detailed clarity about this. It is something new. One thing is clear: It is necessary to make the appropriate changes to the military regulations and other normative acts in connection with the requirements of Article 4 of the law of which you and I are talking.

I believe that precisely these changes must govern the specific ways and forms in which servicemen believers perform cult and religious rites. It seems to me that they should do this during nonservice time and outside the military unit. No one may prevent a believer from attending a church or mosque while on leave, from praying, making confession....

True, the Law on Freedom of Conscience does not envisage any privileges for believers. It states bluntly: "No one may evade fulfilling the duties laid down in law for reasons of his religious convictions."

In all times and in all armies of the world religious rites have been and are performed not to the detriment of military service at a time specially set aside for this. Despite the hour of prayer, no Muslim serviceman ever abandons his guard post. When making confession to a priest, a Christian does not reveal military or state secrets. All these are not just sinful acts but also indictable ones.

But, on the other hand, it is absurd to prevent a serviceman from wearing a cross round his neck or to persecute someone if he has had his child baptized. It is known that the majority of religions widespread in our country provide for the holding of major religious festivals, acts of mass worship, and ceremonial rites. Of course, a thoughtful commander or political worker will endeavor to ensure that on these days a serviceman believer, as far as possible, does not serve in a detail or a guard and receives a pass for at least a few hours—if, I would emphasize, this possibility exists.

[Litovkin] One more problem. Certain religions prohibit a believer from using weapons, taking the military oath.... This has frequently gone to court. What will happen now?

[Grebentkin] Such conflicts can be avoided if legislation provides for alternative (nonmilitary) service and, in the long term, a switch to the volunteer principle for manning the Armed Forces.

But even now, if religious or other convictions prevent a youth from using weapons, we endeavor to give him an opportunity to fulfill his constitutional duty in the railroad or military construction units, where there is no combat hardware or weaponry.

Incidentally, there are not that many who "refuse" on religious grounds. Last year there were just 300 people among the Baptists, Pentecostals, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Seventh-Day Adventists who did not take the oath. They all serve in military construction units, and I know that criminal proceedings have not been instituted against them.

The chief thing, I will repeat, is to put these problems on a legal, legislative basis, as is done in other civilized countries. Then conflicts on religious grounds will disappear of their own accord.

[Litovkin] The final question, Nikolay Aleksandrovich. It is said, is it not, that believing soldiers serve better and are more disciplined?

[Grebentkin] We do not possess such statistics. Yes, experience shows that servicemen believers serve well,

and this is something that strikes you at once. Maybe because there are extremely few of them. Yet alongside them there are tens and hundreds of disciplined and able servicemen who do not believe in God....

In connection with the exacerbation of interethnic relations, the falling prestige of military service, and the destructive actions in various parts of the country problems have recently arisen in this sphere, too. It seems to me that this is one more reason for businesslike cooperation between the Army and the various religious denominations which are really concerned about the fate of the homeland.

New Paper Seeks To Boost Armed Forces' Prestige

PM0801090391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 5 Jan 91 First Edition p 2

[Report by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Senior Lieutenant S. Khripunov under the rubric: "Direct Line": "Independent... PORUCHIK"]

[Text] Severodvinsk—The first edition of an independent private newspaper entitled PORUCHIK [Lieutenant] has been published in the city. The entire print run was rapidly bought up.

The readers naturally include servicemen. Their interest in the new publication is quite understandable. The point is that Yu. Grigoryev—the newspaper's founder and editor—was in the recent past an officer and political worker. He considers one of his publication's main tasks to be to humanize society and enlighten and educate young people in the spirit of love for and devotion to the homeland. This stance was reflected in the articles appearing in this issue of PORUCHIK. They describe the traditions of Russian officers, Russian regiments, and historical dynasties. You can see from other articles that ideas of renewing the present-day Army and Navy are dear to Yu. Grigoryev.

According to the editor, he is prepared to cooperate with all public organizations in order to attain one of his most important tasks—that of enhancing the prestige of the Armed Forces.

Baltic Republics

More Troops to Baltics 'To Ensure Conscription'

LD0701132891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 7 Jan 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] By order of Marshal Yazov, additional troops with a strength of more than a division are to be deployed in the Baltic Military Okrug. This is to ensure conscription into the Soviet Army. That is reported by a correspondent in Riga.

'Several' Divisions to Enforce Baltic Conscription

LD0701155191 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1500 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Text] At around noon today, Colonel General Fedor Kuzmin, commander of the Baltic Military District, telephoned Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis. He informed the Latvian Government leader that, on the orders of USSR Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov, several military divisions will be moved into the Baltics. Their task will be to guarantee that conscription is carried out. Each division will comprise about 10,000 men.

Prime Minister Godmanis immediately started to discuss the situation with the Latvian Government and legislature. A representative of the Latvian Government's press service told the Estonian News Service that Gen. Kuzmin explained the introduction of the Army units by the fact that last year only 20-25 per cent of the conscripts in Latvia turned up to do army service.

According to information from the Latvian legislature's press representative, Latvian President Anatoliy Gorbunovs is at the moment [words indistinct]. According to what the press representative said, Gen. Kuzmin telephoned Aliozs Vaznis, Latvian minister of internal affairs, and warned him that the Latvian militia must not interfere as the servicemen have the right to open fire.

According to unconfirmed information, a column of tanks is moving from the direction of Smolensk toward Latvia along the M12 highway.

At 1500, the People's Front group in the Latvian legislature gathered for a session to discuss the situation. According to the press service of the Lithuanian legislature, Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis also received a telephone call from General Kuzmin at 1530. The general told him, too, of the forced conscription of young men into the Soviet Army. The operation is due to start today.

Baltic Leaders Informed of Additional Troops

AU0701134991 Paris AFP in English 1349 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, Jan 7 (AFP)—Soviet troop reinforcements are being sent to the Baltic republics to help implement conscription, the Lithuanian parliamentary press office said Monday.

Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis was informed of the move in a telephone call from General Fiodor Kuzmin, who heads the Baltic military region. He was told extra troops are being sent to Lithuania, sources told AFP by phone.

Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene's office said they too had received a phone call from Gen. Kuzmin. The premier was out at the time and the general left no message.

In Tallinn, capital of Estonia, a government press spokesman, Mikhail Mukkelmut, said he had heard 10,000 soldiers were being dispatched to the Baltic region, but that "there has been no military movement" in Estonia Tuesday.

In the Latvian capital Riga, Foreign Ministry Spokesman Valdys Berzyns said his own sources had told him Gen. Kuzmin issued an order "today or yesterday" ordering conscripts to report to their units.

A large number of youths from the Baltic region have refused to join the Soviet Army.

Kuzmin Relays Yazov's Orders on Increased Troops

LD0701234591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2110 GMT 7 Jan 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A report from the Latvian legislature's press service: Colonel General Fedor Kuzmin, commander of the troops of the Baltic military district, informed Ivars Godmanis, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian Republic, that additional paratroopers numbering more than a division are being brought to the territory of the Baltic military district. The purpose of this action is to ensure unconditional call-up of young people for serving in the Soviet Army. Col. Gen. Kuzmin said the troops are being brought by order of Defense Minister Marshal Yazov. This autumn, 1,000 young people evaded the call-up for regular service, including the alternative one. On 7 January, an agreement was reached to the effect that until 13 January special commissions would clarify the true picture while the Army would refrain from forcible actions until that time. The Lithuanian legislature's information service reported on a telephone conversation between Col. Gen. Kuzmin and Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet. Kuzmin informed him that the order of the USSR defense minister also pertains to Lithuania

and Estonia. According to certain data, about 50 percent of conscripts are evading service here.

Baltic Leaders in Finland View Troop Movements

LD0701171991 *Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish*
1600 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Text] [Announcer] The Baltic leaders participating in the Baltic conference in Helsinki are concerned over the sending of new Soviet troops to the region. The Soviet troops will not be resisted with force, but civil resistance is regarded as a likely alternative. This was stated in Helsinki by the Latvian vice-president [First Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Council], Dainis Ivans, and the speaker of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, Ulo Nugis.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Antti Kuusi] What does this new situation, which has now arisen, mean for the Baltic countries? What will happen?

[Ivans, in Latvian with superimposed Finnish translation] I have just received a report that paratroopers have left for Latvia, and our local police have been given orders not to resist them so that no clashes will arise. This is a second attempt to intrude into Latvia in that way.

[Kuusi] Will people who have refused to join the Army be forcibly fetched from their homes now?

[Ivans] Yes, we specifically have information that the increase in Army troops on Latvian territory is intended to (?catch) these young men and forcibly take them into the Army.

[Correspondent Jarkko Juselius] Is it possible now that Estonia refugees will start coming to Finland because of this occupation?

[Nugis in Estonian with superimposed Finnish translation] I presume that the situation—I have just received a report, a similar report, from Estonia that even there, there has been an increase in the number of troops, but I do not think that the number of refugees will increase or that a flood of refugees will start coming from Estonia to Finland. But this quite certainly makes it possible now to proclaim presidential rule.

[Juselius] Will this now also mean that the [Baltic] legislatures will be dissolved and the existing democracy will come to an end in the Baltic countries?

[Nugis] It is probably too early to discuss that. I do not have sufficient information, but I know the content of this law which makes it possible to proclaim presidential rule, and according to that it is quite possible.

[Kuusi] What kind of resistance will this arouse in the Baltic countries?

[Ivans] The only possibility for us is not to be obedient to the laws which have been proclaimed by Moscow. A good example of this is the occupation of the radio [as

heard] building and not to agree to work there any longer. We shall obviously continue the same line. [end recording]

Paper Reports Moves To Enforce Baltic Draft

PM0701221791 *Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA*
PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jan 91 p 2

[Article by A. Korzun: "Winter Escort for Fall Draft: Additional Military Units Are Being Brought Into the Baltic Region"]

[Text] Colonel General Fedor Kuzmin, commander of the Baltic Military District, yesterday informed the leadership of the Baltic republics that extra military subunits are being introduced into Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. The purpose of the action is to support the Soviet Army's fall draft.

"Indeed, additional units of assault troops are already arriving in those republics," Oleg Zinchenko, chief of the Baltic Military District Political Directorate, told us by phone yesterday. "Since the republics themselves have been unable to fulfill the decision on the draft for active military service, the forces themselves will monitor the implementation of the draft."

Unfortunately we were unable to contact the district commander by phone. As the staff duty officer explained, Col. Gen. Kuzmin was conducting training lessons.

However, Alda Spruzha, a staffer of the Latvian Supreme Soviet information center, reported that at approximately 1200 hours local time, F. Kuzmin telephoned Ivars Godmanis, chairman of the Latvian Council of Ministers, and informed him that in accordance with the order of USSR Defense Minister Dmitry Yazov, several divisions of assault troops will be transferred to the Baltic republics. Each division contains 10,000 servicemen.

According to correspondents of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Information Bureau, Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, has received a similar report by phone from the commander of the Baltic Military District. The Estonian leadership learned of the introduction of the extra troops from their Latvian colleagues.

"The information about the number of assault troops has been clearly exaggerated by your interlocutors," O. Zinchenko told us. But the chief of the district's political directorate refused to give a more realistic figure, saying merely that more than two divisions are being transferred to republics, that is, "as many as it takes to carry out the order." By 1700 hours, in his words, the military subunits had arrived in Vilnius for subsequent deployment right across Latvian territory.

According to our Vilnius correspondent's information, the mission of these subunits includes tracking military servicemen who have left their units without permission.

The BALTFAX news agency has reported that yesterday afternoon a tank convoy was moving toward Latvia along the M12 highway from Smolensk.

Meanwhile, as S. Chernov, Estonian Government press secretary, stated yesterday, the republic leadership has received information that the USSR defense minister is sending additional troops to every large city not only in the Baltic but also in Georgia, Moldavia, the Western Ukraine, and even Karakalpakia for the purpose of drafting recruits. That is, to those regions of the country where the fall draft to the Soviet Army was disrupted. In Latvia alone, for example, various estimates set the fulfillment of the "plan" at 25-50 percent.

"The information on the introduction of troops into the republic was a complete surprise to us," Andrey Eyzan, Latvia's first deputy permanent representative in Moscow, told us. "We only just met with Army General Moiseyev, chief of the Defense Ministry General Staff, on 3 January, and the results of the meeting were encouraging. We agreed that the young men performing alternative service in Latvia in accordance with the republic's law would continue to do so without waiting for the adoption of a Union law permitting alternative service. As for draft dodgers, we were ready to hand them over to the court. But now...."

Furthermore, Oleg Zinchenko, chief of the Baltic Military District Political Directorate, also proposes that all draft dodgers will have to face the severe letter of the law, the USSR law. "We are acting in accordance with the Soviet Union's Constitution," O. Zinchenko said. "Therefore we do not submit to laws which contradict it."

In O. Zinchenko's words, the additional "fall-winter" draft will be conducted "within the framework of the law": "I am opposed to Army intervention in the internal affairs of the civilian population, especially using weapons. Be that as it may, we shall fulfill the defense minister's order."

Latvian Internal Affairs Minister Alois Vaznis told us that the Baltic Military District commander also phoned him yesterday: "Kuzmin informed me that since the Army draft is only 25 percent complete, Kuzmin will round up the remaining 75 percent by force. The commander also asked me not to view the entry of the troops as a military coup."

All young men of draft age with the exception of students will be summoned to military commissariats. Those currently doing alternative service will also have to come to a commission. The Baltic Military District commander has promised to send those who refuse to go into the Army because of religious convictions to construction battalions, A. Vaznis continued, but only 30 percent of them will stay on Baltic territory to do their service.

"In addition Fedor Kuzmin asked me what assistance the Ministry of Internal Affairs will give the Army. I told him that all my department's actions will depend on what the Latvian Supreme Soviet decides," A. Vaznis explained the content of his conversation to us. "After that, Kuzmin asked me not to obstruct the fulfillment of the order from the defense minister and the president; that is, in his words, the order will be fulfilled regardless, by any means. What means? You can guess; and so I have ordered my officials not to facilitate the draft but also not to offer resistance in order to avoid armed conflicts."

That was how events developed on the first day of the forcible replenishment of the country's Armed Forces.

It is also known that Anatoliy Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Council of Ministers, was scheduled to meet with Baltic Military District Commander Col. Gen. F. Kuzmin in Riga yesterday. In the republic's legislature a session of the People's Front faction was held to discuss the situation that has developed in Latvia. In Lithuania there has also been a session of the republic Council of Ministers Presidium chaired by V. Landsbergis. The decisions adopted at these sessions will be announced later.

Estonia's Ruutel Protests to Gorbachev, Yazov

*AU0701163391 Paris AFP in English 1621 GMT
7 Jan 91*

[Text] Moscow, Jan 7 (AFP) — A regiment of Soviet paratroopers will arrive in Tallinn, the Estonian capital, Tuesday [8 January] morning at the latest, while other units are expected elsewhere in the republic, the local foreign ministry's information bureau announced Monday.

Estonian Premier Edgar Savisaar received a telephone call at 3:45 p.m. (1345 GMT) Monday from General Fiodor Kuzmin, the head of the Baltic military region, informing him of the move, the Estonian Foreign Ministry said in a communique sent to AFP in Moscow.

The general also advised the Estonian government not to interfere with the Army's bid to enforce conscription in the republic, adding there would otherwise be "serious consequences".

The soldiers have been authorized to use their weapons, the bureau said.

Estonian President Arnold Ruutel has made an official protest to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov, it added.

Estonia's Savisaar Discusses Army Deployments

*LD0701201791 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian
1800 GMT 7 Jan 91*

[Interview with Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar by unidentified reporter on 7 January; place not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted, including indistinct portions]

[Savisaar] Well, I do not think there have really ever been any major differences of opinion between the Army and Mikhail Gorbachev. Both of them are interested in preserving the empire, and neither of them intends to hand us independence and freedom on a silver platter. So we do not know what will happen tomorrow and the day after, whether they will adhere to this time extension, which has been promised to Arnold Ruutel and Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council, or not. But I think one has to keep calm; this thing may have a different background from the one we have been told about. Perhaps the draft is but a convenient label under which one can increase the Army presence here in the Baltics. In any case the public psychological pressure will grow, and accordingly our readiness to withstand it must also increase.

[Reporter] We know that Latvia has until 11 January. What deadline have we been given?

[Savisaar] In our case, too, it is just a few days.

[Reporter] Does the freezing of the order mean that the movement of the forces has also been stopped, or will the forces arrive but the young men not be forcibly drafted?

[Savisaar] This can be interpreted this way or that. First, I think that if those Army units—or to be more precise, this paratrooper regiment which General Kuzmin was talking about in his telephone conversation—even if they arrive, it will be very difficult for them to find those young men right away. Files, lists, all the rest, as far as we know, they have nothing like this at all.

[Reporter] What should one now say to those young men who are under the threat of this draft campaign? What should one say to their parents?

[Savisaar] I think that when the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet adopted the law on alternative army service in the spring, as well as when everyone had to make a specific choice on joining the Army or not, it was known that the Republic of Estonia would ensure legal protection for would-be conscripts, but it is quite another matter if we deal with a partner of the kind who recognizes only force and not law. I think that in that case it would be beneficial for the young men to avoid any contact with the Army at the moment.

[Reporter] And so we can say that at least in Tallinn, at present one does not notice any movement of additional forces, and probably there is nothing else one can report at the moment.

[Savisaar] Information arrives through several channels and we try to separate the wheat from the chaff and to create a clearer picture for ourselves, and to take measures of our own as far as possible; and of course, to keep everyone informed of everything that is happening.

Estonia's Toome Envisions 'Extensive Operation'

*LD0701172791 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish
1700 GMT 7 Jan 91*

[Text] Former Estonian Prime Minister Indrek Toome, who is attending a conference of Baltic legislators which opened in Helsinki today, says that sending troops to the Baltic countries is the first step in a more extensive operation through which the Soviet Union is trying to establish in the Baltic countries the kind of law and order which is to its liking. According to Toome, the supervision of the draft is only a pretext.

In the afternoon about 20 tanks appeared in the streets of Vilnius, and it was reported that there was unusual military movement on the border of Lithuania. In Estonia and Latvia no new military units were seen as early this evening.

Troop Deployment to Estonia Postponed

*LD0701233391 Tallinn International Service
in English 2130 GMT 7 Jan 91*

[Excerpts] [Announcer] In the most dramatic threat of force against the Baltics in months, Soviet authorities ordered the use of troops in Estonia and the other two Baltic states earlier today, but postponed the order in Estonia's case just hours ago after a protest from the chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, Arnold Ruutel. Earlier in the day, the head of the Baltic military command, Gen. Kuzmin, notified Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar by phone that a regiment of paratroopers—2,500 men—would be arriving in Tallinn tomorrow and an unspecified number of other troops would be arriving in other parts of Estonia. The commander said that the operation was being conducted in order to catch what he described as deserters from the Soviet Army along with boys who have signed up for alternative service under new Estonian laws. But, coming amidst growing signs that Moscow is preparing to use greater force against the Baltics, the operation was perceived here as possibly the beginning of a general crackdown.

According to the Baltic news service, the Baltic military commander made similar calls to the Latvian prime minister, Ivars Godmanis, and the Lithuanian president, Vytautas Landsbergis, informing them of similar action being taken against Estonia's neighbors to the south. To the Latvian leader, Gen. Kuzmin reportedly cited the fact that only 25 percent of the Soviet Army's quotas for draftees had been filled over the past year. In calls to the Latvian and Lithuanian leaders, the general reportedly said that Soviet divisions, which are some 8,000 men larger than regiments, would be sent there to catch boys fleeing Red Army service.

As of this evening there were no reports that the Soviet orders have been postponed either in Latvia or Lithuania. A statement from Arnold Ruutel, read by his aid, Raul Malk, said that the Soviet authorities had informed the Supreme Soviet chairman of a postponement of the

order to send troops in order to give Estonia an opportunity to fill its quotas for the Soviet Army as dictated by the Soviet Constitution. The chairman's spokesman said that Ruutel had earlier expressed his concern directly to Gen. Kuzmin that military action in the Baltics could result in a loss of life and provoke even greater use of force from the Soviet side. Ruutel reportedly told the general to pass on a message to Defense Minister Yazov and President Gorbachev himself that the military action against Estonia should be stopped. Notification of the postponement reportedly came from a message over the phone.

With us now to take a closer look at what has been happening today is (Harry Kibo), an analyst with Estonian radio, who has been following developments throughout the day. (Harry) do we know anything new since those earlier reports about what's been happening in the three Baltic states?

[(Kibo)] Yes, I would like to add some recent information. Latvia, to my knowledge, Latvians were given four days and, as you said, Estonians were given five days. We don't have any information concerning Lithuania. And, in addition, Estonian President Ruutel and Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar sent a cable to Mr. Gorbachev, and they protested against the forthcoming use of force and they warned him of the possible results of this use of force. [passage omitted]

In addition, the Estonian Government decided this afternoon, or in the evening, that all the young men who are in civil service will start their winter vacation tomorrow, starting from tomorrow, and the instructions have been passed to all the cities in Estonia and to all the counties as well.

[Announcer] Do we have any indication from either Savisaar or Ruutel that they are willing to give in to one extent or another to Soviet pressure?

[(Kibo)] No, either by Ruutel nor by Savisaar, there has been not a single word hinting on the possibility of giving in. In addition, Savisaar said these few days of postponement that were given, in fact, they mean nothing because if the paratroopers arrive in Estonia they need some time to get the addresses, to get the, well, jobs where the young men are working. It means they need some documentation before starting searching for the young men so these days obviously they use for compiling name lists with addresses and so on and so forth.

[Announcer] So, it is safe to say that Estonia is not going to try to help fill those quotas over the period of postponement?

[(Kibo)] No, Savisaar said that it is in contradiction with Soviet laws as well because, according to law, the draft was to be ended in December, now it's January already, and his advice to the young men who are under threat was to keep away from the Army for the time being. [passage omitted]

I think the postponement was (?inevitable) beforehand [words indistinct] because of points made because of, you know, exchange of information between the minister of foreign affairs and the minister of defense in Moscow because accidentally, in Riga, there are still American consul and vice consul visiting Latvia's leadership. So, you see, it would be a bit inappropriate to use force in their presence. In addition, I don't understand the Soviet military, or maybe it is a benchmark, I mean threaten to use force just at the time when the European Community's representatives and minister of foreign affairs are going to meet this week to discuss the Baltic issue. It is like, well, like a challenge: we can do whatever we want.

[Announcer] Challenge to the Europeans?

[(Kibo)] To the West, to the Western countries. We can do in our country whatever we like. [passage omitted]

Latvian Leaders Told To Expect More Troops

*LD0701184291 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian
1701 GMT 7 Jan 91*

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Baltic Military District Commander Fedor Kuzmin has informed Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis and Minister of Internal Affairs Aloizs Vaznis that another contingent of assault troops will be brought into Latvia soon.

It should be added that Anatolijs Gorbunovs had a meeting with Fedor Kuzmin.

Latvian Supreme Council Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs, will give information on the situation in the Russian news broadcast and in the Panorama program on Latvian television. As soon as we have this information at our disposal, we shall make it known to you, respected radio listeners. Follow our newscasts.

Youths Warned To Be 'Wary'

*LD0701161491 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian
1400 GMT 7 Jan 91*

[Text] It seems that while the noise created in Latvia and in the entire world by the Black Berets breaking into our Press House has not died down, the correspondent of the world's mass media will stay in the republic, and new excesses will not be expected here. Still, we now request the young men of Latvia to be attentive and wary, both those who have chosen alternative service and the deserters. The USSR Armed Forces have begun to take an intense interest in your fate.

Gorbunovs Interviewed on Discussions With Kuzmin

*LD0801000491 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian
2100 GMT 7 Jan 91*

["Excerpt" of interview with Latvian Supreme Council Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs by Ojars Rubenis, Latvian television correspondent, after Gorbunovs's

talks with Fedor Kuzmin, commander of Soviet troops of the Baltic Military District, in Riga on 7 January—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Gorbunovs] Regarding what I have agreed upon with the commander of the Baltic military district: First of all, we arrived at an agreement that until 13 January there will be no enforced mobilizations of any kind.

[Rubenis] What kind of guarantees are there for these six days, for this moratorium? Were such guarantees given to you?

[Gorbunovs] I was given such guarantees.

[Rubenis] [passage omitted] What could you tell them at all at this moment?

[Gorbunovs] Regarding deserters here, a strictly defined category must be described. For the time being, the only ones who can be considered are those who had been called into the armed forces and who deserted. So, there was talk about this category, and Colonel General Kuzmin promised that there could be talk about them—that they could complete service here in Latvia, and they would not have to answer criminal charges.

Concerning other categories, which we must accurately ascertain, I think our republic's Supreme Council must assume responsibility, at least a moral responsibility, for all those who are now honestly undergoing alternative labor service.

The third category, which we unfortunately have are the young men who either do not undergo the alternative service or have not joined the military service. This category of young men will have to answer criminal charges, according to our legislation.

[Rubenis] Did you not ask Fedor Kuzmin whether in other republics where they have alternative service, and where there is resistance to military service, there are undertakings similar to what is presently going on in the Baltic region?

[Gorbunovs] This order concerns only the three Baltic republics.

[Rubenis] You were just in Moscow, and you met Moiseyev. Were you informed that forces would be brought in and an enforced mobilization would take place?

[Gorbunovs] We were not informed about troops being brought in for an enforced mobilization. Dare we believe Kuzmin? I am not able to state unequivocally because Kuzmin is an Army man, and he is subject to orders from his superiors.

Moiseyev Interviewed on Talks With Latvia

Says No Troop Increase Planned

PM0701182391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
8 Jan 91 Union Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with Army General M.A. Moiseyev by correspondent V. Litovkin; date and place not given: "We Want Open and Honest Dialogue"]

[Text] In issue four of this year, our newspaper reported on the meeting between A. Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, and Army General M. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff. What questions were discussed at this meeting? What results were achieved?

Army Gen. Moiseyev talks with our correspondent.

[Moiseyev] I would like to note right away that the meeting was not just with Anatoliy Valeryanovich Gorbunovs but also with the Latvian Supreme Soviet delegation which he headed. The delegation also included I. Bisers, first deputy chairman of the Latvian Council of Ministers; T. Jundzins, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet commission for defense and internal affairs; and A. Ejzans, Latvian Council of Ministers deputy permanent representative in Moscow. These were not talks but consultations on problems of mutual interest.

The representatives of the republic's Supreme Soviet asked us a number of questions. In particular, about the number of troops on Latvian territory, the predraft training of young people and cooperation between the local authorities and military commissariats, alternative service, and also the regulation of mutual relations between the military and local organs of power.

These questions were of equal interest to us, the General Staff. It is no secret that the order to draft young people was fulfilled by just 24.7 percent in the republic. The overwhelming majority of draftees are Russian speakers. And only a little over 5 percent are Latvians.

The problem of providing officers and NCO's with housing is acute in Latvia. Around 8,000 servicemen are without apartments in the republic. Over 3,000 have no housing permits. And thus there is no work for the wives of officers and NCO's, their children cannot attend kindergarten or nursery school, and they are unable to obtain coupons for food or buy food in local stores.

The USSR law on the performance of military service by draftees from Latvia has also been violated in the republic. The law on alternative service adopted by the Latvian Supreme Soviet permits young people to refuse to observe the requirements of the USSR Law on Compulsory Military Service. Thus, young people have been given a difficult choice of which law to obey. And in obeying one they violate the other and thus commit a criminal offense.

[Litovkin] What were the results of your meeting? Did you manage to agree on anything?

[Moiseyev] Yes. As for the General Staff, we told the republic's representatives that it is not planned to increase the number of troops stationed on Latvian territory. Furthermore, some units will be reduced as envisaged by the military reform and demanded by the Treaty on the Reduction of Conventional Arms in Europe signed in Paris recently.

At the same time, troops performing strategic defense tasks will remain in the republic. To be precise: Strategic Rocket Forces, the missile-attack warning troops, space tracking, and the Baltic Fleet bases even though, as you know, missile-carrying submarines have already been removed from them. We promised to help the republic in emergencies and in civil defense.

The Latvian delegation asked us to give them full advance information in the event of increasing the number of officers on the republic's territory so as to enable them to resolve all the social questions that arise. But as for those people who are already serving in the republic, the Latvian Government representatives promised us that they would resolve their questions in a positive light.

They informed us that Latvia does not intend to create its own armed forces but that they want to hold special talks on the status of the Soviet Armed Forces on the republic's territory.

[Litovkin] But how will such specific questions as alternative service and the draft into the Soviet Army be resolved?

[Moiseyev] The fact is that the draft law on alternative service in Latvia was prepared by people who were less-than-competent with a poor idea of the specifics of that service and indeed its organization and who were unfamiliar with the experience of nonmilitary alternative service in other countries of the world and legislation on this matter.

By giving young people the right to arbitrarily choose their type of service, the Supreme Soviet has cast doubt on the need for the precise fulfillment of civic duty and this has led to violations of labor discipline and promoted an increase in crime and an outburst of hooliganism previously unknown either in Riga or in other Latvian cities.

Our interlocutors agreed with those conclusions and said that their law on alternative service will be substantially reworked when the USSR Supreme Soviet adopts a new law on compulsory military service to include a provision on non-military service. The draft of this law has already been elaborated and published.

Unfortunately, full clarity was not achieved on questions of the draft. The Latvian representatives stated that they cannot resolve it without a discussion in the republic's legislature, which is a lengthy process. Then we were

compelled to remind them that the Defense Ministry will strictly fulfill the USSR president's decree of 1 December 1990 and in the event of nonfulfillment of the draft order will ask the USSR Prosecutor's Office to call to account those officials who refuse to carry out the country's laws.

[Litovkin] What will happen to the firing ranges, bases, arsenals, fleet basing, and troop deployment centers on the republic's territory?

[Moiseyev] We do not think that there are any major problems here. We will conduct a thorough investigation of each specific case. Some ranges, arsenals, and military units were once located far from population centers. Now they are within city boundaries or next to them. Naturally this creates certain inconveniences for the population.

We understand, as does the republic's legislature, that such questions must be resolved so as to satisfy the problems of the country's defense and the national economy and, most important, of people. We will cooperate in order to help them.

[Litovkin] Have similar consultations been held with representatives of other republics?

[Moiseyev] Yes, we have already met with the envoys of Lithuania, Moldova, Uzbekistan, the Ukraine, and Azerbaijan.... A special department for permanent ties with the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics on the solution of defense questions will be created at the General Staff in the very near future. We want open and honest dialogue and constructive cooperation.

Riga Journalists Opt for 'Nonresistance'

LD0701134291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 7 Jan 9

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Excerpt] The week before Christmas did not bring peace into the hearts and souls of the people. After the seizure of the Press House by a subdivision of USSR Interior Ministry troops, the situation in Riga was seen by many as extremely tense. However, the Supreme Council and the government—along with journalists and typesetters from the Press House—chose the option of nonresistance to the evil. The Press House has been abandoned, and its return will be sought by nonviolent means.

People gathered on Christmas Eve in Latvia's Orthodox churches. A night service was conducted yesterday evening, and this morning there was a liturgical service. [passage omitted]

Riga Press House 'Looks Deserted'

LD0701184791 Moscow TASS in English 1648 GMT 7 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga January 5 TASS—The House of the Press, the largest publishing house in Riga, where Latvia mostly printed its periodicals before the new year, looks deserted today. The majority of journalists and print workers decided not to report for work until Interior Troops are withdrawn from house.

Interior Troops began to guard the House of the Press on the first days of the new year on the decision of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

Its statement says that the republican government seized a property, that is the publishing house, belonging to the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, and that no actions can be justified to seize party property.

The Latvian parliament had earlier ruled to turn the publishing house into a state asset, and the republican government had decided to establish a joint stock society on its basis.

Deputy leader of the Soviet Communist Party Vladimir Ivashko stressed in his letter to the Latvian Government that such decisions violate the CPSU's rights to dispose of party property at its own discretion.

He noted that the CPSU Central Committee had invested 25.4 million roubles to build the publishing house and that all earlier leased premises were returned to the Riga Council.

Latvian cabinet members, who were present at a meeting of the publishing house staff members, supported their desire to stop work. Printshops to publish newspapers are now being looked for in other Latvian cities and districts.

Latvian parliament First Vice-President Dajnis Ivans announced proposals from Germany and Sweden to deliver printing equipment to the republic free of charge.

Arkady Vrublevsky, who was appointed publishing house manager by the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, said today that he would begin publishing party, republican and leading newspapers in the near future.

According to his information, a third of workers want to return to the printshop.

Latvian Party Rebuts Criticism Over Press House

PM0801092591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Jan 91 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Latvian Communists' Stance"]

[Text] Riga, 4 Jan—The mass media and leading officials in Latvia have launched a campaign to disinform the public concerning the republic's CPSU Central Committee publishing house, a statement put out by the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau says.

A persistent effort is being made, the document stresses, to persuade people that the republic's government acted correctly when it embarked on the path of seizing someone else's property—the CPSU Central Committee's Latvian publishing house. They are trying hard to conjure up a hostile image of the Latvian Communist Party and its Central Committee for allegedly preventing newspapers and journals from being published and seeking to retrieve its press monopoly....

The campaign in connection with the party publishing house is obviously political, the statement notes. The campaign's organizers and those who are carrying it out want to distract people's attention from the authorities' numerous mistakes, the threat of the republic economy's disintegration, and many other phenomena and problems that directly affect the interests of every inhabitant of Latvia.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau says that the CPSU Central Committee Latvian publishing house together with its buildings, equipment, and assets are the sole property of the Communist Party. In accordance with legislation, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee takes operational charge of common party property on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and will resolutely resist any attempts to illegally restrict the performance of these functions.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and the CPSU Central Committee Latvian publishing house management appointed by it guarantee all interested editorial boards of newspapers, journals, and other publications cooperation in publishing activities. The Communist Party Central Committee Bureau also expresses confidence that honest people will appreciate and support the stance of upholding communists' legitimate interests and rights and the determination to protect the interests of all working people.

Conflict Over Latvian Press Center Examined

PM0801100191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jan 91 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent O. Meshkov: "Latvia: Conflict Over Press Center"]

[Text] Events are now taking place in Riga which have caught the attention of the entire republic's inhabitants. The struggle that the republic's leadership is waging for the right to ownership of the newspaper and journal publishing house currently belonging to the CPSU, whose agent in Latvia is the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, has entered the decisive stage.

Last summer the republic's Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution which stated that this publishing house was soon to be taken from the Latvian party organization. It should be noted that the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee immediately rejected the claims to party property. It has considerable grounds for that: Over 24 million rubles [R] of party money had been

spent on building the Press Center and buying equipment, though admittedly the Council of Ministers had also contributed a little over R1 million—this money went on installing heating systems in a neighboring residential district.

Disregarding the other side's arguments, the republic's Council of Ministers appointed K. Dunduras director of the "new" publishing house and an order was given that the party publishing house's account be closed and R5 million be removed from it. The unlawfulness of all these measures is indicated by the USSR Council of Ministers resolution on measures to protect CPSU property on Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] territory and the USSR president's decree on measures to preserve the right of ownership in the USSR. However, these documents were simply ignored by the republic's authorities in resolving this contentious issue.

Just before New Year, on 20 December, the Council of Ministers presented the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee with an ultimatum: The question has been decided once and for all, a joint-stock company will be formed 24 December and you can make a proportional contribution amounting to... six percent of the shares. Both the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and the CPSU Central Committee resolutely protested this. However, these protests were disregarded as well. On 27 December the allocation of shares and sale of certificates began. And it was this fact that made it necessary to reinforce the entry permit system [propusknoy rezhim] at the Press Center.

The printers declared a strike and refused to print party publications. The republic's Supreme Soviet supported the strike. In retaliation measures were taken to prevent other publications (including ATMODA, published by the People's Front) from being printed at the presses there.

This event had repercussions far beyond the republic's borders. Reports appeared in various Western publications alleging that troops had seized the Press Center and that journalists and printing workers had been insulted by soldiers. However, no one can produce what matters most—convincing evidence of the right to take the party's property away from it (property in which Communists from not only Latvia but the whole country have invested their money, furthermore).

In the state university's assembly hall there was a meeting between the republic's leaders and printing workers and staff from the editorial offices at the Press Center. A resolution was adopted: To leave the Press Center, taking away all their property, and leave the Communists with bare walls and empty offices. There were so many speeches at that meeting! The abandonment of the Press Center was even compared with the Russian troops' temporary withdrawal from Moscow in 1812! But a number of printing workers' speeches voiced anxiety for their future: You are urging us to leave the Press Center, but how will we be able to feed our

families, especially when prices for food have just risen 300-320 percent in the republic?

The republic's Council of Ministers adopted a decision to produce republican publications in the printing houses where rayon newspapers are produced. It was proposed that the printers left without work will get a money allowance for two months. But what then? As the saying goes: Wait and see.

The conflict peaked in the past few days. Not only political organizations but—most important of all—the fate of real people became enmeshed in it.

Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that justice will triumph and the right of ownership will be observed, as it should be in a normal law-governed state.

Lithuania Presidium Denounces Conscription

*LD0701214791 Vilnius Domestic Service
in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 7 Jan 91*

[Statement issued by the Presidium of the Lithuanian Supreme Council]

[Text] One more brutal step has been taken by the leadership of the Soviet Union in provoking destabilization and conflict in the Baltic region.

The compulsory conscription of young men into the Soviet Armed Forces, that is, rounding them up or kidnapping them, is starting in Lithuania as well as in Latvia and Estonia. In doing this the Soviet Armed Forces are being pushed into committing further crimes; they are violating not only the laws of sovereign Lithuania and international laws, but also the internal laws of the Soviet Union, according to which proceedings against young men who refuse to do their military service can only be initiated by the civilian courts of law, and they cannot be forcibly kidnapped as was done in the times of the tsars when recruiting peasant serfs.

The Republic of Lithuania will defend its citizens by all legal and political means, and will appeal to human rights and other international organizations so that the new aggression against Lithuania, which is aspiring for freedom, will be denounced vigorously and with specific consequences. Therefore, every case of attacks on and kidnapping of people must be known as soon as possible.

We also appeal to the young people who find themselves in danger. We ask them to avoid Soviet servicemen who could also appear in disguise or use other perfidious means. We suggest that young men not spend the night at their usual address or at an address which is known to many people; and they use the identity cards of citizens of the Republic of Lithuania [passage indistinct] because the law of the Republic of Lithuania on conscription for the protection of the country allows them to demand officially recognized POW status.

We do not doubt that officials at the Interior Ministry of the Republic of Lithuania will remain loyal to the

motherland during this period of trial. All attempts to humiliate Lithuania perpetrated by those who choose coercion will be met by the Lithuanian people by showing dignity and unity, as they have done until now. Sooner or later the aggressor will have to retreat.

Information Bureau Issues Statement

LD0701145191 Vilnius Domestic Service
in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Statement issued by the Lithuanian Supreme Council Information Bureau on 7 January]

[Text] On 7 January 1991, at 1430 [1230 GMT], Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, received some information by telephone from General Fedor Kuzmin, commander of the Soviet Army units deployed in the Baltic states, to the effect that, in compliance with an order from USSR Minister Dmitriy Yazov, compulsory conscription of young men into the Soviet Army is being initiated in Lithuania by employing a special paratroopers division.

Those young men from the Lithuanian Republic who have availed themselves of their constitutional right and have interrupted their service in the Soviet Army are also liable to be rounded up.

Landsbergis Offers To Meet Gorbachev in Moscow

LD0701221191 Vilnius Domestic Service
in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Text] Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, sent a telegram to the president of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev today. It reads:

Highly esteemed president, the New Year urges us to aspire for progress in normalizing relations between Lithuania and the Soviet Union. Proceeding along this path we all tried to [word indistinct] the present question because of the illness of N. Ryzhkov, head of the Soviet delegation. In wishing him to get well as soon as possible we would also like to know who we should now contact concerning further meetings of the delegations and possible negotiations.

We would be much obliged [to you] for supplying us with relevant information.

However, if you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, would find that any informal meeting would be beneficial, I am prepared to be the first to go to Moscow to see you.

I hope that you will accept my best wishes on the occasion of today's holiday.

Lithuanian Leader Discusses Conscription Issues

LD0701233391 Vilnius International Service
in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Interview with A. Butkevicius, director of the Lithuanian Department for Protection of the Country, by D. Tarasevicius, in Vilnius on 7 January—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Tarasevicius] A. Butkevicius, director general of the Department for the Protection of the Country, told Vilnius Radio that the rounding up of young men has not yet started; however, he did not attempt to conceal that such actions could be expected at any time. Here is Audrius Butkevicius:

[Butkevicius] I should like to say that this is yet another means of psychological pressure at a rather difficult time for Lithuania. The international situation which has developed, when the whole world is preoccupied with the crisis in the Persian Gulf and the real danger of war, which prevents a number of states from devoting sufficient attention to the problems in the Baltic region, is being used by the Soviet Union perfectly well, so this pressure is being applied.

Well, once more the young people of Lithuania and the people of Lithuania will have to make their decision. I would like to remind them that according to Lithuanian laws, they do not have to do military service in the Soviet Armed Forces, that all Lithuanian young men have to be conscripted to the service of protection of the country system, and that they do not have to serve in a foreign army unless they wish to do so and they report this in writing to the systems of the protection of the country.

However, we hope that we will reach an agreement with the Soviet Union, which this time has crudely violated the coordinated stances agreed upon at the consultative meetings and is now trying to apply various means of coercion again. I am convinced that all these forms of coercion will not succeed, in common with those used before when they failed to compel Lithuanian people to serve in their armed forces and when they failed to round up even a few of those who deserted the Army and returned to Lithuania.

At the moment a great deal of unity and caution are needed. I think that in the next two weeks the young men of draft age should stay away from their homes and stay with their friends or neighbors, or at some more secure place.

However, if some of them are taken by force into the Soviet Armed Forces, I should like to state that they should consider themselves prisoners of war, and on no account should they take the military oath.

[Tarasevicius] Is anything known about the movements of the special paratrooper forces or any other troops which could be engaged in these matters, or about their stationing in Lithuania?

[Butkevicius] At present the maneuvers of the Soviet troops in Lithuania are under way, and most of the movements are connected with these. For some time now, a special military unit has been stationed in the Vilnius Siaures Miestelis barracks, which is capable of carrying out the round-up. There are a number of well-trained paratrooper divisions which could also be used in this action.

However, I would like to remind you of something else too. To attempt to round up more than 9,000 Lithuanian young men by force is not an easy task at all, even for perfectly trained paratroopers.

[Tarasevisius] When can we expect these actions?

[Butkevicius] I would think that from today onwards.

Lithuanian Supreme Council Discusses Price Hikes

LD0701131791 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Excerpt] A second meeting is under way today at the Supreme Council building. The Supreme Council Presidium held a one-hour meeting at 1000, while a joint meeting of the Supreme Council Presidium, permanent commission chairmen, and the government began at 1100.

The only question discussed was prices. The Supreme Council Presidium has drawn up a draft resolution on price increases. This has not yet been seen by journalists, since it is being edited.

The joint Supreme Council Presidium and government meeting was opened by Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis.

The chairman directed his attention to problems concerning this situation, namely, the tactics of price increase policy. Vytautas Landsbergis pointed out this is not the main problem. However, it is important within the context of relations between the Supreme Council and the government. The chairman called attention to the fact that the decisions being adopted by the supreme Council, place primary emphasis on the necessary compensation mechanism. However, this is still nonexistent.

The Supreme Council chairman expressed doubt whether the urgency could not have been avoided, since awareness constitutes one thing, while the change visible in the shops constitutes a certain psychological and social shock.

In the opinion of the chairman, this could have also been avoided, perhaps. [passage omitted]

Lithuania's Landsbergis Appeals to Nation

LD0801105491 Moscow TASS in English 1040 GMT 8 Jan 91

[By TASS Correspondent Kazis Ustila]

[Text] Vilnius January 8 TASS—The Lithuanian president today appealed to the population of the republic to come to the parliament building and "defend their power". Vytautas Landsbergis made the appeal just ten minutes before the parliament session was due to open. The proceedings were to be transmitted by republican radio.

The space outside the parliament building thronged with people since early morning today. The people are protesting against price hikes and the policy of the government and parliament.

Landsbergis accused many protesters of being drunk and of rowdy behaviour which, he said, "causes the threat of disorders". Landsbergis claimed that many of the protesters were military men.

On Monday evening [7 January] Prime Minister Kazimiere Prunskiene admitted the possibility of calls for the resignation of the government because of a sharp rise in retail prices on foodstuffs from January 7. This measure was regarded by some deputies as a manifestation of "confrontation with the parliament", because on December 29, 1990 the parliament decided in a roll-call vote to postpone price reform.

Links Army Moves, Price Increases

LD0701235191 Vilnius International Service in English 2300 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Text] Vytautas Landsbergis appealed tonight to the nation on TV. On pointing out that the intended enforced drafting of youth was not the goal but the means, he mainly focused on the government's decisions to raise prices as of today. He said that, up to now, Lithuania had been protected by absence of unrest and its firm legal stand that it was not part of the Soviet Union. Now, he said, he was not sure that the shock price rise introduced without due explanation about compensation would not cause unrest. According to him, the government has failed to listen to parliament's plan of price rises and now we face a fait accompli, which is used by anti-independence forces. Vytautas Landsbergis said the price rise was ill-timed and there was a strange coincidence between the threats of the Soviet military and such a sharp price rise.

Tomorrow the legislature will debate the current situation at a plenary session and Vytautas Landsbergis called upon the nation not to give in to excitement, gossip, anxiety, but wait calmly for a couple of days. We must avoid a link-up of the great menace from outside with some internal public confusion, Vytautas Landsbergis stressed.

Thousands Protest at Supreme Council

LD0801110691 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 8 Jan 91

[Excerpts] This morning, some time before the Supreme Council started its session, the main entrance to the

Supreme Council building was blocked by several thousand people who are mostly representatives of the all-Union subordination. Deputies, guests, and journalists had to use the service entrance. There was a point when there was a danger that the glass of the front door could be smashed. The police and the service for the protection of the country could do virtually nothing about it because they arrived late. [passage omitted]

A few minutes after the session started the crowd attacked the building. At 1025 deputy prime minister Romualdas Ozolas issued an appeal to the crowd. He asked them to delegate a group of people to meet with the leadership of the Supreme Council. The situation calmed down. Some minutes ago this was also confirmed by V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council.

Lithuanian Paramilitary Leaders Discuss Army

PM0401113591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 4 Jan 91 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Interview with A. Butkyavichyus, general director of the Lithuanian Territorial Protection Department, and V. Zhukas, chief of the department's cadres section, by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel O. Vladykin under the "Who's Who" rubric; date and place of interview not given; first four paragraphs are introduction: "Paramilitary Protection or New Army?"]

[Text] The territorial protection department created in Lithuania counter to the USSR Constitution currently in operation embodied one of the legislative contradictions between the republic's authorities, who have declared it an independent state, and the Soviet Union, to which it in fact belongs, as before. Moreover, despite the USSR president's well-known decree demanding the dissolution of all illegal paramilitary formations in the country, Vilnius is continuing to develop its new department and to staff and equip its subunits. The mass media are reporting increasingly frequently the conflict situations which are arising as a result of the practical activity of the forces subordinate to the department. They are embarking on direct clashes with the staffers of the law enforcement organs, are impeding the work of the DOSAAF (Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy) organizations, are checking the political orientation of some citizens, and provoking draftees to refuse to serve in the USSR Armed Forces... So that in the defense sphere the "laws war" has now obviously moved from purely declaratory forms to the plane of real opposition to the central authorities by the republican paramilitary department.

All this prompted the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial office to ask the leaders of the territorial protection department to explain for themselves their goals and the tasks they are resolving. Our initiative caused no enthusiasm in the other side but we nonetheless received agreement to the meeting, albeit not without complications. It is true that during the talk another tape recorder was placed on the table next to the correspondent's—for

a parallel recording of the conversation. A characteristic detail. That is why we must note to be on the safe side that the recording of the conversation is published with several abridgments.

And another thing. A whole series of assertions by A. Butkyavichyus, general director of the territorial protection department, and V. Zhukas, chief of the department's cadres section, give rise to serious objections. But we do not comment on them but offer our readers the opportunity to judge for themselves the real aims of this department, comparing what has been said with the facts made public via the press.

[Butkyavichyus] First of all I ask you to consider that Lithuania is an independent state. It needs all the structures essential to ensure its independence.

Our republic's economic borders now really exist. After all the Union has completely relaxed its grip on prices. Even Belorussia established posts at the border before we did and protects its own internal market. So those people who are performing the same tasks in Lithuania must be led and provided with everything necessary. That is primarily what our department engages in.

Next, recently there has been talk about how the USSR Armed Forces will cease to protect state organizations and institutions in Lithuania. The ministry from Moscow and the local command are constantly informing us of this in writing. So that now we ourselves will have to protect many establishments, including various depots and fuel stocks.

The next avenue of our work is civil defense and fire fighting work. Experience has shown that the civil defense system which operates in the Soviet Union is not suitable. Trains carrying petroleum products, acids, and liquid chlorine pass through the republic's territory... There are often accidents. That is why in such cases we will need an appropriate rescue service.

Once again the times are quite unstable now. In this connection we have plans to create structures along national guard lines. Volunteer reservists with some training and the potential for service will serve in them. They will fulfill some functions to protect the state border and important establishments, will work during extreme situations, and maintain public order.

[Vladykin] But will some forces be created in the republic which will assume the functions now fulfilled here by Soviet Army units?

[Butkyavichyus] We well understand that there is no country in the world which can fully guarantee its national security only with its own forces. Lithuania will be especially unable to do so. That means we must talk of collective systems of security. So if we are required to make our contribution to such a system, we can create the structures you mention. It seems to me that there is no advantage in creating them purely for the republic.

[Vladykin] Within the framework of what state associations or unions do you allow Lithuania's participation in a collective security system?

[Butkyavichyus] Of course this must be mentioned. For instance, we are aware that the Soviet Union has its own strategic interests here. Its air defense forces could be useful to us as well.

There are structures which we have no need of at all here. On a mutually acceptable basis we could stipulate the presence only of the means and personnel which safeguard the Soviet Union's strategic interests.

[Vladykin] In that case, what is your attitude toward the USSR Armed Forces units now stationed on Lithuanian territory?

[Butkyavichyus] It is a fact that our independent state exists and operates. But the position of the Soviet Union, which does not recognize our laws, is also a fact. We can shout as much as we like that you are wrong. You are still here. Let's talk about how to fit the existing situation into some kind of norm.

[Vladykin] But surely we cannot regard as a norm the fact that, for instance, the servicemen who have voluntarily left their units are taken on for service in your department?

[Zhukas] These are isolated instances. In general we try not to take these men. They run a great risk while they work nowhere and do not spend the night at home. They could be taken back into their units or criminal proceedings could be brought against them.

[Butkyavichyus] I want to make things clear. If people have voluntarily left service in the Soviet Army, we help find them work, but not with us. In Lithuania there are enough places where they can work quietly and wait for us to determine their further fate.

[Vladykin] But does it not seem to you that this approach gives rise among certain men of Lithuanian origin to the desire to desert from the USSR Armed Forces? The young men believe that they will be welcomed in the republic almost as national heroes and provided with the opportunity to complete their service in some subunit of the territorial protection department. But they come here and go into hiding and live in constant fear of criminal proceedings...

[Butkyavichyus] First, after our republic restored independence, an appeal was immediately issued to soldiers of Lithuanian origin asking them to wait quietly until their fate had been decided at talks. Second, many are leaving the units because they have simply encountered terrible conditions of service here. Here in Vilnius such men, and not only Lithuanians, also turn to us.

[Vladykin] Tell me, what in general are the criteria for selecting cadres for the department's subunits?

[Zhukas] We try not to take inexperienced people. We have few people who have not served in the Soviet Army. In appointing people we consider their level of education and the military knowledge they already possess. We take care that they have no convictions. We check every candidate for service in the department through the network of rayon internal affairs departments. The level of physical training also has some importance.

Yes, we take experienced people. Imagine you have four men standing in the road at night and they must stop a vehicle. If that is done by a 19-year-old boy who does not know how to react in various situations, he could cause a conflict himself.

[Vladykin] Incidentally, in our discussion there has been mention of the concept of the extreme situation. How do you define it and how will your subunits act when such a situation arises?

[Butkyavichyus] It could even be an accident at a railroad station, but I understand perfectly what you are saying. I want to hear from you a definition of the extreme situation in which I could begin to operate.

[Vladykin] Very well. Today I was handed a curious leaflet. It is called "instructions for enterprise and organization workers." It has been signed by V. Bilkas, president of the Panevezhis association of industrialists, and G. Papinigis, chairman of the Panevezhis council of the workers union, but it has been distributed in a huge print run at the enterprises of many of the republic's cities, including Vilnius. So this document predicts a special situation: the introduction of additional military subunits onto the republic's territory and the declaration of direct presidential rule in Lithuania. Instructions are issued as to what should be done under these conditions. A resistance organization, the boycotting of the leaders who support the "occupation regime," the creation of groups of "volunteers," and so forth. Is your department also compiling forecasts of this kind and planning its actions in accordance with them?

[Butkyavichyus] I do not know who is preparing these leaflets. But I can say that if presidential rule is introduced what is called civil disobedience will arise in the republic.

[Vladykin] Will the forces of the territorial protection department then be used in some way? Do you permit of the likelihood that they will oppose Soviet Army subunits?

[Butkyavichyus] In general I cannot exclude something of the kind. I must think about all possible situations. Of course I understand what you are saying and I shall reply very directly. If armed force is used against us we will show by all the opportunities at our disposal that you are using this force. There is a whole complex of such opportunities.

RSFSR

Fuel Train Derails in Siberia; Fire Breaks Out

LD0801122991 Moscow TASS in English 1222 GMT
8 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Trofimov]

[Text] Ulan Ude January 8 TASS—Eighteen tankers with diesel fuel jumped the rails near Ulan Ude, capital of the Buryat Soviet Republic in eastern Siberia, halting traffic on a large section of the Trans Siberian railway.

The derailment caused a huge fire, which is difficult to extinguish because of continuing explosions of the tankers. Units of the national civil defence and soldiers with special equipment arrived at the scene. There were no casualties. The amount of damage is being determined.

According to experts working on the site, traffic will be restored by midnight by best.

Yavlinskiy Appointed Economic Adviser to Silayev

PM0801090191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
7 Jan 91 Union Edition p 1

[INTERFAX report: "Yavlinskiy Appointment"]

[Text] The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers has appointed Grigoriy Yavlinskiy economic adviser to Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, INTERFAX reports.

G. Yavlinskiy explained in a telephone conversation with IZVESTIYA that he will carry out his new duties on a voluntary, unpaid basis. He also said that his decision is connected with the promise "not to resign totally" that he made during the discussion of his resignation at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

RSFSR Minister on Trade Relations With Taiwan

OW0601045491 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 2200 GMT 4 Jan 91

[Interview with Viktor Yaroshenko, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) minister of foreign economic relations, by station reporter (Machinko); place and date not given]

[Text] [(Machinko)] First, I would like to know the difference between the newly established Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and its USSR counterpart. Is it part of the state monopoly?

[Yaroshenko] The RSFSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations has put forward brand new working principles. It neither sells nor buys anything. Buying and selling are the business of the commercial circles. This

ministry formulates rules and regulations for promoting foreign economic relations. As its minister, I have an office which maintains contact with businessmen of both the RSFSR and foreign countries to find out what the obstacles are to their business. My staff and I will do all we can, using our leverage, such as the power to issue permits, quota, and taxation, to eliminate these. This is the major difference between our ministry and its USSR counterpart, which had monopolized all foreign trade until recently.

[(Machinko)] What position does the Asian-Pacific region occupy in the foreign economic relations of the RSFSR?

[Yaroshenko] At present, the Asian-Pacific region is occupying a more and more important position. The RSFSR has a long history of relations with that region, beginning at the time of the Silk Road, which linked Russia firmly with its eastern neighbors. Today, we hope to turn the Silk Road into a modern avenue. The RSFSR has all the necessary conditions for energetically promoting industrial cooperation with Asian-Pacific nations. First, it holds a favorable geographical position. Bordering the Pacific Ocean on the east, it shares more than 7,000 km of common border with China. Second, the products of Asian-Pacific countries are attractive to us because they are cheaper than those of West European nations. I believe that our volume of trade with that region will rank first among the RSFSR's total volume of trade with world countries within the next two years. Not long ago, we signed profitable contracts with South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Malaysia. In addition, we signed an economic and trade agreement with the DPRK on 24 December of last year. North Korea is the first country to have signed a governmental agreement with the RSFSR since the latter's independence. Of course, China is the largest oriental trading partner of the RSFSR. We always have treasured our traditional relations with our largest eastern neighbor.

[(Machinko)] I have a question that is shared by China's JINGJI RIBAO reporter in Moscow. You have just mentioned the signing of a contract with Taiwan. According to newspaper reports, the RSFSR will export chemical fertilizers to Taiwan. Because China also wants to buy chemical fertilizers, the Chinese reporter would like to know the reasons for the RSFSR's decision to sell such products to Taiwan.

[Yaroshenko] Economic matters have gotten us into a difficult situation. The RSFSR, like the USSR as a whole, does not have any governmental relations with Taiwan, and there is no possibility of such relations. We hold that Taiwan is an inalienable part of the People's Republic of China. In this regard, our position has not changed. However, several thousand private companies and joint-stock companies have emerged in our country during the period of economic reform and transition to a market economy. According to law, they, as corporates, have the right to choose partners independently. These nonstate-run enterprises have signed contracts with

some countries, such as Israel, the Republic of South Africa, and so on, with which the the Soviet Union does not have diplomatic relations. It is very difficult to ban such contracts, because they are generally signed through intermediaries. Our relations with Taiwan is of this nature. As for the export of chemical fertilizers to China, we already have created new opportunities. Our ministry has issued to the RSFSR Association of Agriculture and Industry [nong gong lian he ti] an export permit for the RSFSR's surplus chemical fertilizer, which is a large quantity. I believe that China's businessmen who know about this will not be disappointed. We hope to engage in trade with them that is of mutual benefit.

Appeal Notes Far East Border Violations

PM0401135191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 4 Jan 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel V. Usoltsev: "Situation on Border Has Become More Complicated"]

[Text] Khabarovsk—The Far East Border District military council has adopted an appeal to the inhabitants of the border region. Why?

In the interests of the local population, a simplified passport procedure has been introduced in the border zone and a number of engineering and technical installations have been dismantled with a view to providing the inhabitants of the border villages and hamlets with access to the Amur and the Ussuri, better leisure facilities and pasture for livestock on water meadows and for other economic activity.

But, the appeal notes, the elimination of a number of regulation restrictions and the democratization of the border guard have given rise in some border region inhabitants to a syndrome of permissiveness and an arbitrary attitude toward existing legislation, which provides for criminal proceedings for violating the state border and its regime. Instances of smuggling and barter deals with inhabitants of the neighboring state have been recorded on almost all sectors of the Far East border. The influx of dealers of all kinds to the border region has increased.

The Far East Border District military council has called for order to be strengthened on the state border, for any violations to be prevented, and for every assistance to be given to the border guards in the struggle against the enemies of nature and smugglers.

Moscow Subway Fares Remain Unchanged for January

PM070115491 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 4 Jan 91 p 1

[Interview with A.P. Kesarev, first deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Railways Main Subways Administration, by Ye. Anisimov; place and date of interview not given: "The Subway: Are the Doors Closing?"]

[Text] We can categorically state that there will be no stoppage of the Moscow subway in January, although there has been enough talk of possible strikes. We elicited this assurance in an interview with A.P. Kesarev, first deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Railways Main Subways Administration.

[Kesarev] Subway workers must also understand that it's no fun working without pay, but where can we get the money from if monthly passenger fares cover running costs for only 10 days? We used to get a subsidy from the Ministry of Railways and the state budget. The right to set fares has now been handed over to the city authorities, and they should come up with a subsidy if they don't want to increase fares. The Moscow Gorispolkom [City Soviet Executive Committee] has for a long time been unable to solve the problem, and this naturally worries the Moscow subway workers. At least now the money to keep the subway going through January has been found and allocated.

[Anisimov] Who will own the subway?

[Kesarev] We still have not heard anything official about that. A conference was called at the Ministry of Railways back in June, at which representatives from all cities with a subway system were present. At that time, it seemed, there was unanimous agreement that it would be expedient to leave the subways under the aegis of the Ministry of Railways. But the USSR Council of Ministers of the USSR also gave instructions that the question of transferring the subway systems to city control be examined.

[Anisimov] What came of that?

[Kesarev] On two occasions subway systems were transferred to city control, but immediately afterwards the quality of service declined sharply. Despite all its problems and the need to find huge subsidies, the Ministry of Railways made its position quite clear: The subways should remain under the ministry's control.

[Anisimov] We have already reported on the prices set for subway travel in some of the country's cities. What about Moscow?

[Kesarev] At least the fares throughout January will be the same as before. And then it's up to the Moscow City Soviet and Moscow Gorispolkom to make a decision...

Magadan Now Open to All Regions, Foreigners

LD0701185491 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Text] In accordance with the decision of the Russian Federation's Council of Ministers, Magadan and the majority of the regions in its oblast are open for free entry from all regions of the country and from abroad. For many decades prior to this it was only possible to enter Kolyma and Chukotka with special permission and passes.

Irkutsk City 'Environmental Disaster Zone'

PM0701142791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[From the roundup of IZVESTIYA, TASS, SIBIN-FORM reports: "Fifth Environmental Disaster Zone"]

[Text] A session of the Shelekhov City Soviet has adopted a decision to recognize the territory of the city of Shelekhov as an environmental disaster zone. According to the data of a commission, 52,000 tonnes of harmful substances are discharged annually into the atmosphere of this city of 50,000 people. Moreover, a check carried out on agricultural produce delivered to a store revealed twice the maximum allowed quantity of nitrates.

Shelekhov is the fifth city in Irkutsk Oblast to declare itself an environmental disaster zone.

Revival of Russian Academy of Sciences Discussed

91UN0602A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
22 Dec 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by Captain 1st Rank A. Zlydnev and Colonel V. Streltsov: "From Leningrad: The Citadel of Russian Science"]

[Text] More than 700 scientists representing various disciplines in science in the 13 regional departments have been gathering these last few days in Leningrad to debate the question of reconstituting the Russian Academy of Sciences.

It is common knowledge that in 1917, the Russian Academy of Sciences was liquidated and the Socialist Academy of Sciences was created. It was later made the USSR Academy of Sciences, and independent academies were set up in the republics, except for the Russian Federation.

During the course of the present congress of scientists of Russia, concepts and principles for forming the academy, a draft of its charter, and other matters have been examined.

The position of many of those attending the congress who are striving to create the most favorable conditions for augmenting the scientific potential not only of Russia but also the entire renewed Union of sovereign republics, must deserve our respect. Unfortunately, as one scientist from Nizhniy Novgorod, Professor Yu. Yashin, noted during conversation, there are also other viewpoints. For example, some of our colleagues see this congress not so much as an opportunity for consolidating the scientific forces of the Union, but rather as fertile ground for satisfying their own political ambitions.

Two Newspapers Begin Publication in Vologda

LD0301095291 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0300 GMT 3 Jan 91

[Text] The first issues of the newspaper of the city soviet of people's deputies VOLOGODSKIYE NOVOSTI [VOLOGDA NEWS] and of the oblast soviet of people's deputies RUSSKIY SEVER [RUSSIAN NORTH] started to come out today in Vologda. The new editions are intended to correspond to the practice, experience, and problems of the soviets, and to regularly report news of the economic and sociopolitical life of the old Russian town and the oblast.

Western Republics

Ukraine Republican Official on Group's Aims

LD0401181691 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian
1745 GMT 3 Jan 91

[Interview with Igor Stolyarov, secretary of the Odessa branch of the Ukrainian Republican Party by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] Is there anything common to the programs of the new Ukrainian parties? How do they differ? Our correspondent talks with Igor Stolyarov, secretary of the Odessa branch of the Ukrainian Republican Party [URP].

[Stolyarov] first of all, we are close to the Ukrainian National Party [UNP] and the Association of Ukrainian Independent Youth [AUIY], and to other independent organizations which now exist in the Ukraine. Compared with the URP, their membership is rather small. The URP is now the largest party in the Ukraine, after the Ukrainian branch of the CPSU. We have the same aim: the construction of an independent Ukrainian integral state.

The differences? We have them, too. The charter of the URP says the party will function within the existing Ukraine constitution. The UNP does not recognize the Ukraine's present constitution since, it alleges, this constitution is illegitimate. The UNP bases its actions on international laws and conventions. It regards the Ukraine as a colony. The AUIY is a youth organization which has recently split in two. It is headed by Derkach, a Ukraine people's deputy. Members who have left the AUIY formed a new body called Ukrainian Nationalist Youth. This organization is led by Oles Vitovych, who lives in Lvov. This organization guides itself mostly by the program of the OUN [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists]. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] How do you and members of your party regard nationalism?

[Stolyarov] We have members from various nationalities. It does not matter to us what languages our members use. What matters to us is that the person shares our aim—an independent Ukraine. [passage omitted]

Ukrainian Union Appeals to Rukh, Parties

*LD0401200691 Kiev International Service
in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 3 Jan 91*

[Text] An open letter to the leaders of Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka], and Ukrainian republican and democratic parties from the Ukrainian Union of Workers, was released today. The letter notes that the numerous groups that have been created in Ukraine do not bring any constructive and positive changes to people's lives. The only real result of their activity is a rapid growth of destructive forces in society, and increased social, religious, and national tensions. Until recently these organizations acted alone, but now opposing forces have united and have started activity using sometimes the same methods. Confrontations can lead to bloody clashes. The Ukrainian Union of Working People suggests that a moratorium on holding political meetings, strikes, and picketing be introduced for the period of one year, beginning 1 January 1991.

Servicemen Receive Ukrainian Nationalist Leaflets

*PM0401142191 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 4 Jan 91 First Edition p 1*

[Report by Colonel V. Bogdanovskiy: "A Rebuke, and That's All"]

[Text] Lvov—Several servicemen in the Carpathian Military District recently discovered in their mail boxes messages signed by the Ukrainian Nationalist Alliance. The tone and content of the leaflets were traditional for that organization: blatant threats combined with shameless nationalism. Such "psychological" attacks on servicemen no longer surprise anyone here. It is something else which is surprising: the tolerant, to put it mildly, attitude of the local authorities toward obvious instances of the kindling of interethnic hostility.

This time too V. Shpitser, chairman of the Lvov City Soviet Executive Committee, hastened to state in the press that this leaflet was a forgery. "I do not doubt," he stated, "that not a single deputy will put his signature to this leaflet." He was wrong. A few days later in the newspaper ZA VILNU UKRAINU, Lvov Oblast Soviet Deputy O. Vitovich confirmed not without pride that "we, the Ukrainian Nationalist Alliance, are the authors of the leaflet."

It is characteristic that the appeal from the Rovno Oblast prosecutor's office to the Lvov Oblast Soviet asking it to agree to charges being brought against O. Vitovich for his extremist actions met with a refusal from the deputies.

Ukraine Establishes State Employment Service

*LD0401200291 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0910 GMT 4 Jan 91*

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Aleksey Petrunya]

[Excerpt] Kiev, 4 Jan [TASS]— The Ukrainian Council of Ministers adopted a decision on the setting up of a state employment service, the main aim of which is social protection for people in the conditions of the republic's transition to a market economy.

"The transition to market relations, liquidation of unprofitable works and enterprises make it necessary to redistribute labor resources and improve the quality of cadre training," commented Ivan Frandyuk, Ukraine's first deputy minister of labor. [passage omitted]

Nikolayev Oblast Elects First Secretary

*LD0701145391 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian
1615 GMT 5 Jan 91*

[Summary] A plenum of the Nikolayev Oblast party committee was held today. It approved the new structure of the oblast party apparatus in connection with a considerable reduction in its numbers.

The departments of defense industry and of state and law were abolished.

An organizational question was also discussed. The plenum considered the proposal of Comrade Gritsay, first secretary of the Nikolayev Oblast party committee and chairman of the oblast soviet, that it is not expedient for the same person to occupy these two posts and therefore he should be released from the post of first secretary. His request was met. Comrade Matveyev, hitherto then second secretary of the Nikolayev Oblast party committee, was elected first secretary.

Ukrainian Language Group on Russian 'Chauvinism'

*LD0401203191 Kiev International Service
in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 3 Jan 91*

[Text] An appeal made by the head council of Prosvita, the Ukrainian language society named after Taras Shevchenko [prominent Ukrainian poet and painter] has been promulgated today. It reads in particular: Regardless of the fact that the law on languages was adopted in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic more than a year ago the language situation in mass media is becoming worse, not better. The Ukrainian language newspapers are being transformed into Russian language ones on a mass scale in the southern and eastern oblasts of the Ukraine. The Russian radio station Mayak is being relayed in the Ukraine 24 hours a day. The head council of the society considers these facts to be a manifestation of Russian chauvinism in the information policy. It is particularly suggested in the appeal that no less than two channels of state-run television in Ukrainian should be

provided. Commercial television should only use Ukrainian language. The radio program Promin should be relayed on the entire territory of the Ukraine, 24 hours a day, with due regard for the needs of Ukrainians living outside the Ukrainian borders.

Finnish Doctors on Continued Chernobyl Problems

LD0701205191 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1900 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Text] The people living in the region of the Chernobyl nuclear plant disaster still need material assistance badly, stated members of a group of Finnish doctors who recently returned from the Soviet Union. The doctors hope for an extensive collection of funds from the public in Finland for aid to the victims. The reports received from Moscow show, according to medical superintendent Hertta Wiren that the large-scale effects of the disaster have not yet been scientifically studied. According to Wiren, at the present moment it is most important to ensure a varied and clean food supply for the population living in the polluted disaster area. There is a particular shortage of baby foods, and also of medicines and hospital materials.

Eight Cable TV Channels Begun in Lugansk

LD0301153691 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 2 Jan 91

[Text] Employees of the cable TV center in Lugansk have a nice New Year's present for the inhabitants of Lugansk. They have started permanent broadcasts of entertainment programs as of today. Eight sociopolitical, sports, and children's channels will be presented to Lugansk citizens.

Caucasus

Interior Ministry Unit To Enter South Ossetia

LD0701162591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1532 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow 7 Jan (TASS)—The inhabitants of South Ossetia are celebrating Christmas in a tense sociopolitical situation this year. Reports by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs indicate that several cases of violence have been noticed in the mountainous region on the eve of the holidays. The situation has exacerbated.

The length of the curfew in Tskhinvali has been extended for up to 12 hours a day. At present it starts at 1900, which on the whole allows to keep the situation in the city's streets under control. However, one can still often hear gunshots in the outskirts of Tskhinvali. Cars on the roads in the vicinity of the city are often fired at. Two children were wounded during one such shooting incident.

According to reliable sources, the leadership of Georgia has adopted a decision to bring a composite unit of the

republican Ministry of Internal Affairs to the state of emergency region in order to ensure law and order.

Crowds Demonstrate, Seize Weapons

LD0701163991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1555 GMT 7 Jan 91

[By TASS special correspondent Mikhail Zakharchuk]

[Text] Tbilisi, 7 Jan (TASS)—The situation in Tskhinvali has been sharply exacerbated following a radio address by the commandant of the special region of Tskhinvali with the ultimatum to surrender all weapons before midnight on 6 January.

Yesterday the inhabitants blocked off the local militia department and built barricades. The traffic-regulating point of a military unit was besieged and over 100 people demanded that weapons be handed over to them. Following negotiations, conducted by unit commander V. Kondratyev, those responsible for the siege dispersed.

Shooting and explosions from homemade devices could be heard in the town. Two people have been killed and over 10 injured in the last few days. Inhabitants of the town continue to arrive at the location of the servicemen of the garrison in the hope of seeking sanctuary from the disturbances.

Gorbachev Issues Decree

LD0701192191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Jan 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has issued a decree on certain legislative acts adopted in December 1990 by the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. The decree states:

On 20 September 1990, the South Ossetian Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies adopted a declaration proclaiming the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast as the South Ossetian Soviet Democratic Republic. The Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR adopted on 11 December 1990 a law abolishing the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast formed in 1922. At the same time the provisions concerning the said oblast were removed from the constitution of the Georgian SSR and the republic's right to abolish autonomous oblasts was introduced.

The acts of the oblast Soviet of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet of the republic contravene the Constitution of the USSR and the laws of the USSR and the established procedure for resolving issues on alteration of the status of autonomous formations.

In accordance with Article 87 of the USSR Constitution, the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast is part of the Georgian SSR. Any decision on changing the status of autonomous formations on the basis of the provisions of Paragraph 1, Article 73, Paragraph 2, Article 108 of the

Constitution of the USSR, and Paragraph 2, Article 6 of the USSR Law of 26 April 1990 on the demarcation of plenary powers between the USSR and the subjects of the federation, assumes juridical force only after its ratification by the supreme bodies of state power of the USSR. However, the procedure established by the USSR Constitution and the USSR laws for the resolution of issues concerning the alteration of the status of autonomous formations by the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR was not observed.

On 12 December 1990, the Presidium of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet declared a state of emergency on the territory of the town of Tskhinvali and Dzhava rayon, South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast, having resolved that units of the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs and KGB, and also internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, be involved in its implementation. On the basis of Paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article 127 (3) of the USSR Constitution, I resolve:

First: In accordance with the USSR Constitution and the USSR law of 24 October 1990 on ensuring the force of laws and other legislative acts of the USSR, the provisions of the acts cited in this decree which have been adopted by the organs of power of the Georgian SSR, and of the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast which is a part of it, and which are at variance with the current legislation of the USSR, have no legal force from the moment of adoption, and are not subject to execution by state and public organs, enterprises, establishments, organizations, and citizens.

Second: The Supreme Soviet and Government of the Georgian SSR, the local soviets of people's deputies, and the law enforcement organs of the republic are to insure compliance with the requirements of the USSR Constitution and the laws of the USSR on protection of the rights and legitimate interests of citizens residing on the territory of the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast.

Third: All armed units are to be withdrawn from the territory of the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast within three days, with the exception of internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Fourth: The leadership of the republic is to inform the USSR president within five days of measures taken to normalize the situation in the republic.

Fifth: This decree comes into force from the moment of its signing.

Political Scene in Georgia Analyzed

PM0401104191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Jan 91 Union Edition p 4

[Article by POSTFAKTUM correspondent Tatyana Nedashkovskaya under the "Politics" rubric: "Georgia: Polarization of Forces"]

[Text] The multiparty elections to the Georgian Supreme Soviet held on 28 October were sensational: Power in the republic passed to an openly anticommunist bloc of parties, the "Round Table—Free Georgia," as distinct from the Baltic Republics, where people's fronts "in support of perestroika" were victorious. The republic's new parliament declared only a transitional period to independence, but refused to sign the new Union treaty (true, since the 1922 treaty has not been denounced, this refusal means only that Georgia remains within the framework of the old Union Treaty). Nevertheless, this step has already led to Georgia's being forced to guarantee its own foreign credits.

Moreover, a number of measures by Georgian Premier Tengiz Sigua in appointing new republic MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and KGB leaders led to a further exacerbation of relations between Georgia and the center. The conflict with the Transcaucasus Military District is also coming to a head. On 27 November General Patrikeyev, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, stated on republic television that cases of attacks on the military and of discrimination against them by local organs of authority had become more frequent. "If the situation does not change for the better," he warned the republic Supreme Soviet, "the Army will be forced to defend itself."

The Structure of Power

Despite the fact that the republic has a huge number of parties (around 130), the parliament is effectively a two-party affair. With the majority of seats in parliament (155 out of 246), the "Round Table—Free Georgia" bloc today controls all legislative and executive power.

The "Round Table," which consists of a dozen parties, was created 11 May 1990. It is characteristic of the parties belonging to this bloc that they revised their attitude to the Supreme Soviet elections—from boycotting the elections because they were "soviet" to active participation in them. Eviad Gamsakhurdiya, chairman of the Georgian Helsinki Group and chairman of the St. Ilya Pravednyy Society (one of the biggest societies, which has branches in every Georgian city) is the bloc leader.

The Georgian Communist Party has 63 seats in the parliament, but at parliamentary sittings it has to date demonstrated enviable unanimity with the ruling "Round Table" bloc (the majority of the new Supreme Soviet's decisions are in practice passed unanimously). "Round Table" bloc leader Eviad Khamsakhurdiya has described the Georgian Communist Party's future as follows: "We doubt that the Georgian Communist Party will create serious opposition in parliament. No one will endorse the alternative drafts they have prepared—the Communists are in a minority in the Supreme Soviet. Even when the Georgian Communist Party was the ruling party in Georgia, we dictated its terms. Moreover, most of the rank-and-file members of the Georgian Communist Party support us. I think that the Georgian

Communist Party will be disbanded from below, and its mafia-style elite will not be able to prevent this." Georgian Communist Party Ideology Secretary Vazha Gurgidze has described the Georgian Communist Party's position in parliament as the position of a national party which places Georgia's interests above those of party—as demonstrated prior to the election when the Communist Party put forward the most radical program, stating that it would adopt a declaration of independence if it came to power.

Gamsakhurdia's words were confirmed on 7 December when the 28th Georgian Communist Party Congress resumed its work after a recess of almost five months. During that time 61 of the 666 congress delegates had left the Communist Party (these were law-enforcement agency workers for the most part) and more than 200 delegates absented themselves from the sitting for unknown reasons.

The Georgian Communist Party Congress adopted new statutes which declared that it builds its work on the basis of the republic Constitution, although it did not declare its separation from the CPSU. Clearly, for the majority of Communists the question of whether to remain in the party or not will be decided in the next few months, after the reorganization of union executive power and possible changes in the republic, where the new powers that be, despite their current high rating, could lose authority as a result of mistakes in tackling the complex national, political, and economic problems.

The other parties and blocs have a total of 18 seats, of which 12 belonging to the Georgian People's Front won at the repeat elections on 11 November were due to support for that bloc from "Round Table" leaders. It is therefore to be expected that this third faction in parliament—in terms of seats—will act in coalition with the "Round Table" bloc, thus ensuring the ruling party a decisive majority (more than two-thirds of the votes).

The sole "open" opposition to the "Round Table" bloc is constituted by the four deputies of the "Democratic Georgia" bloc, which took part not only in the Supreme Soviet elections but also in the National Congress elections. The "Democratic Georgia" bloc includes the Ilya Chavchavadze Society, the Political Club, and other organizations. Prominent Georgian cultural and scientific figures—Academician and philosopher Niko Chavchavadze, corresponding member [as published] and archaeologist Lali Dzhavakhishvili, movie director Eldar Shengelaya, and others—participate in their work.

As far as the Georgian Supreme Soviet and its standing commissions are concerned, virtually all the leading posts are held by representatives of the "Round Table" bloc or people who support that bloc. Despite the fact that the bloc was supported in the elections by the majority of Georgia's population, not just the center but sometimes the voters themselves are dissatisfied at the appointment of new ministers.

Cadre changes in the republic MVD and KGB have considerably exacerbated Georgia's relations with the center. True, while the removal of Lieutenant General Shota Gorgodze as Georgian internal affairs minister and the appointment to that post of lawyer Dilara Khabuliani, a "Round Table" deputy, went almost unnoticed in the republic, the resignation of republic KGB Chairman T. Lordkipanidze on 27 November produced an energetic protest from the Union KGB and a telegram from Gorbachev calling for the "suspension of the illegal decision" and an appropriate response in Georgia.

For the time being the duties of the Georgian KGB chairman are being carried out by the new premier's appointee, General Otar Khatishvili, who was dismissed from the organs in 1989 for protesting against the breaking up of the 9 April rally by troops.

Extraparliamentary Parties and Blocs

A regrouping of forces outside parliament among registered parties has begun. The Rustaveli Society, which was officially set up by the old authorities and therefore has a pretty large membership (whole collectives joined) replaced its leader after the Supreme Soviet elections (Georgian Premier Tengiz Sigua, an individual member of the "Round Table" bloc, became its leader), has virtually joined the ruling bloc.

The "Freedom" bloc, which surprised everyone when it failed to win a single seat in the elections, is now being abandoned by its "sympathizers." In the last two years bloc leaders were actively engaged in lawmaking activity: They drew up amendments to the Georgian Constitution, resolutions of the Supreme Soviet of the previous convocation which recognized the fact of Georgia's annexation, and, along with the "Round Table" bloc, the law on multiparty elections. Before the Supreme Soviet elections the leaders of "Freedom" refused to form a joint political bloc with the "Round Table." The present Supreme Soviet chairman's sense of "grievance" was so great that after the formation of the parliament and its commissions the former allies were simply not asked to cooperate even in Supreme Soviet commissions.

Extraparliamentary Opposition

Another force in the Georgian liberation movement is the National Congress which, in local commentators' opinion, is gradually losing prestige among the Georgian population. The 42 parties belonging to the Coordination Center boycotted the Supreme Soviet elections and held elections to the National Congress between 30 September and 2 November 1990 in which 62 percent of voters took part, according to the figures of the electoral commission. The National Independence Party won the largest number of seats in the National Congress (71 out of 200) and its leader, Irakli Tsereteli, became National Congress chairman.

The National Congress lost prestige because the destabilization of the Georgian situation in the fall is partly

linked in the population's minds with the activity of the paramilitary "Mkhedrioni" society. Even though "Mkhedrioni" is not part of the National Congress, its leader Dzhaba Ioseliani is an individual member of the Coordination Center (note that in addition to "Mkhedrioni" there are other paramilitary organizations in Georgia, including the "White George" society, which belongs to the Round Table bloc). In addition, the National Congress has recently adopted a destructive stance: It opposed the signing on 29 November of the treaty with Russia (demanding that the Russian supreme leadership recognize the fact of Georgia's annexation) and called for the immediate withdrawal from Georgian territory of military subunits under USSR Defense Ministry jurisdiction.

In a 3 December statement on local television "Mkhedrioni" said among other things: "The Round Table-Free Georgia political bloc, having taken power as a result of the Georgian Supreme Soviet elections, has undercut the minimum social, democratic, and political freedoms which the Georgian people secured from the Communist Party after the events of April 1989. Evidence of that is provided by the cadre policy pursued by the new authorities, the ousting of people whose faces do not fit, and so forth... We have every ground for believing that the new authorities themselves are seeking to destabilize the situation in society so as to induce the occupation forces to impose a curfew. The authorities are doing this especially so as to shift from themselves the responsibility for the economic chaos toward which the republic is rapidly heading as a result of the inept decisions being taken by the new authorities."

Despite the fact that the National Congress' popularity is waning, the civil disobedience campaign against the new Supreme Soviet and the charges that it is undemocratic, is biased in its cadre policy, and is undermining freedoms may, on the one hand, cause Gamsakhurdia's popularity rating to fall and, on the other, help to further increase tension in Georgia.

Interethnic Relations Worsening

As acute as the new authorities' domestic political problems may be, however, it is interethnic conflicts which are achieving prominence in Georgia today. On coming to power the Round Table bloc abandoned its initial demands and announced the preservation of the autonomous formations on Georgian territory. But not for long. On 11 December the Georgian Supreme Soviet adopted the law abolishing the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast. This step could tend to aggravate the conflict with South Ossetia and provoke major interethnic clashes, which could involve not only Ossetians and Georgians but also representatives of other Caucasian national groups.

On 20 September 1990, the South Ossetian Oblast Soviet adopted a declaration on transforming the oblast into the South Ossetian Soviet Democratic Republic within the

USSR. On 10 November 1989, the oblast soviet's decision to transform the oblast into an autonomous republic within the USSR led to a slow-running civil war in South Ossetia from November 1989 through January 1990. More than 120 people were wounded on the Ossetian side, 45 on the Georgian side, and three were killed on each side.

Although the oblast soviet's decision is contrary to the existing Georgian Constitution, it was motivated, according to the Ossetian side, by the Georgian Supreme Soviet resolutions deeming inoperative all treaties adopted since February 1921, including the 1922 Union Treaty and the Treaty on the Transcaucasian Federation, which served as the legal basis for the existence of the autonomous formations in Georgia—Adzhara, Abkhaz, and South Ossetian.

In revoking the South Ossetian Oblast Soviet's decision, the Georgian parliament appealed to the Georgian and USSR Constitutions even though at a Georgian Supreme Soviet session on 11 December it violated the republic's Constitution itself by unanimously adopting the Law on the Abolition of the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast (according to the Georgian Constitution, the Supreme Soviet may only enhance the status of an autonomous formation).

On 12 December a state of emergency was introduced in Tskhinvalskiy and Dzhevskiy Rayons, two South Ossetian rayons with a predominantly Ossetian population (the oblast's population is around 100,000, 68 percent of whom are Ossetians). The state of emergency is being enforced by troops of the Union MVD. The Georgian Supreme Soviet's demand that USSR MVD troops should be replaced by Georgian MVD subunits was ignored by the center (admittedly, MVD Major General Givi Kvantaliani became military commandant) just as the South Ossetian Supreme Soviet's demand for the introduction of a state of emergency throughout the oblast's territory was not fulfilled. The situation here remains stable at the moment. Nevertheless, tension is mounting outside the oblast.

In a recent interview Zviad Gamsakhurdia stated that in the near future a law on Georgian citizenship will be adopted under which, in his opinion, only those inhabitants whose forebears lived in Georgia before the 1921 annexation and possibly even before the 1801 annexation can become Georgian citizens. This law, if adopted (and the likelihood of its adoption is high, given that Zviad Gamsakhurdia has the support of the decisive majority in parliament), just like the laws adopted in December, could generate a wave of interethnic conflicts in Georgia similar to last year's.

In view of the unstable political situation in Georgia, the emergence of centers of interethnic conflicts poses a tremendous danger.

Georgia, Estonia Sign Economic Agreement

91US0174A Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA
in Russian 28 Nov 90 p 1

[SAKARTVELO news agency report: "An Estonian Delegation Visits Georgia"]

[Text]

A Reception in the Georgian Supreme Soviet

On 27 November the chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, Mr. Zviad Gamsakhurdia, received a government delegation from the Estonian Republic led by the prime minister of that republic, Mr. Edgar Savisaar.

During the meeting, which took place in a warm and constructive atmosphere, a wide range of issues that were topical for both sides was touched upon. The need was underscored for close links for the purpose of jointly resolving the sociopolitical and economic problems that are making themselves felt under the conditions of the transitional period in both Estonia and Georgia. Mr. Edgar Savisaar talked about the establishment of new state institutions in Estonia and the difficulties that the republic government is having to face there. He noted that in Estonia they are following intently the way in which events in Georgia are unfolding, and that the Estonian people are truly happy with the results of first multiparty elections here in the last 70 years.

For his part Mr. Zviad Gamsakhurdia informed the guests about the first steps taken by the newly formed Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia. It was emphasized that the transitional period here presupposes gradual implementation of the program of measures to create new structures for state power. It was noted that before proclaiming political independence it is essential to insure solid economic independence.

Those taking part in the talks included Mr. Tengiz Sigua, chairman of the Republic of Georgia Council of Ministers, Messrs. Akakiy Asatiani and Nemo Burchuladze, deputy chairmen of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Soviet, Mr. Otar Melkadze, deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, the chairmen of the standing commissions of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, the leader of the press center, ministers, the members of the Estonian delegation, and other officials.

The Signing of the Agreement

Mr. Tengiz Sigua, chairman of the Republic of Georgia Council of Ministers, and Mr. Edgar Savisaar, chairman of the government of the Estonian Republic, signed an agreement on economic and cultural cooperation between the Republic of Georgia and the Estonian Republic.

The agreement provides, in particular, for the development, starting next year, of mutual deliveries of products and goods between the two republics exclusively on a

contractual basis. It notes that comprehensive and good-quality development of money-exchange relations and market relations is the strategic thrust of mutual economic relations.

The sides have arranged to enter into contracts, agreements, or protocols during 1991 in the field of common economic problems, finance-and-credit policy, development of the social sphere and national cultures, barter, construction and architecture, science and technology, agriculture, industry, the ecology, mutual legal assistance, and coordination of the actions of law enforcement agencies.

Provision has been made for cooperation and mutual assistance with respect to services pertaining to commercial and marketing activity, the exchange of commercial information, participation in fairs, cooperation in the search for new suppliers of products, and expanding direct ties between enterprises in the two regions, the organization or mutual deliveries of products in non-transit quantities [v netransitnykh kolichestvakh], and so forth.

A special article in the agreement provides for the opening of permanent representations of the Estonian Republic in Tbilisi and of the Republic of Georgia in Tallinn.

On the same day a protocol to the agreement was signed for mutual deliveries of the most important kinds of products and goods between the Republics of Georgia and Estonia in 1991.

Provision was made, in particular, for a search for new directions in the development of direct ties and new forms of cooperation between enterprises, and to provide them with immediate assistance in questions that arise, and for joint planning and holding of auctions and fairs, and, if required, discussion of key problems pertaining to improvements in material-technical supply.

Press Conference in the Government House

A press conference was held in the Government House of Georgia on the occasion of the signing of the agreement on economic and cultural cooperation between the Republics of Georgia and Estonia. The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Georgia, Mr. Tengiz Sigua, and the chairman of the Government of the Republic of Estonia, Mr. Edgar Savisaar, answered journalists' questions. They talked about the future development of direct ties between Georgia and Estonia. They expressed the same opinion concerning their non-participation in the Union treaty. They mentioned the political situation in their republics.

NKAO Armenians To Mark 13 Jan Baku Incidents

NC0501133491 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 4 Jan 91

[ARMENPRES reprint of undated YEREKOYAN YER-EVAN article: "13 January Has Been Declared Day of Mourning in Artsakh"]

[Text] Yerevan, 4 Jan (ARMENPRES)—January 13 will mark the first anniversary of the Baku tragedy when the brigands of the Azerbaijani Popular Front committed monstrous acts against the Armenian population. On that day the massacre of the Armenian population of Baku and their mass eviction from that so-called internationalist city started with the knowledge and permission of the Azerbaijani Government.

The Baku massacres once more convinced the Armenians of Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—NKAO] that there can be no retreat in their struggle.

The NKAO's oblast organs, rayon and city committees, public organizations, and corps of the USSR People's Deputies from NKAO made a joint decision to declare 13 January a day of commemoration for the victims of Baku. On that day (red-blue-orange) tricolor flags with black ribbons will be flown at half mast all over the oblast.

Situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Reviewed

NC0501203791 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 4 Jan 91

[Report by ARMENPRES Nagorno-Karabakh correspondent Aleksandr Grigoryan: "Nagorno-Karabakh: New Year With Old Cares"]

[Text] Stepanakert, 4 January—The people of Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] welcomed the new year with unceasing intrigues. The so-called "unidentified persons" of Azerbaijani nationality do not rest for even one day. According to reports, a group of 10 to 13 people dressed in Army and militia uniforms shot at the dairy farm of Gulatag village in Mardakertskiy rayon on 29 December. They took away a "ZIL-130" vehicle and drove it toward Galachilar village in Agdamskiy Rayon. The bandits also raided and plundered the house of Gulatag resident Levon Stepanyan.

The next day, on 30 December, Edik Ayryan, a shepherd from Yarymdzhan village in Mardakertskiy Rayon, was attacked. The armed bandits beat him up and took more than 70 livestock to Agdamskiy Rayon.

Askeranskiy Rayon was not immune to incidents either. The Armenian village of Agbulag informed the ARMENPRES correspondent that people shot at the local farm on the night of 30 December. The attempt to steal animals was foiled but three cattle were killed and 12 injured in the attack.

Not everyone could celebrate the new year. Most of the crimes are being committed by people carrying automatic weapons and dressed in Army and militia uniforms. Therefore, it is no wonder that the organizers and perpetrators of these crimes are not brought to trial.

Despite this, Colonel V. Shevelev, commandant of the state of emergency region, and Colonel P. Bogodukhov, chief of the political department of the military command, in their New Year message to the residents of the oblast have declared: "Let the same trials which befell you spare your children." They also hypocritically stress: "The servicemen share your difficulties and sincerely hope for the solution to this vexing problem."

Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet, in his New Year message to the people of Artsakh, expressed the conviction that no injustice and no intrigue will panic the heroic people of Artsakh and that the indomitable spirit of their brave forefathers will not abandon them.

That is certainly how the people of Artsakh will behave in 1991 and forever.

New Trading Bank Set Up in Armenia

NC0601100891 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2130 GMT 5 Jan 91

[Text] A new universal trading bank, formed by shareholders, has appeared on the business map of Armenia. This is the first trading bank formed by the special decisions of the governments of the USSR and Armenian Republic.

The aim of the bank is to propel the upswing of the so-called "second wave" of assistance to the [Armenian] earthquake zone and to revive the damaged cities and villages. It will contribute to efforts to create free enterprise and a free and civilized financial-credit system for the republic's economy. The bank will work to ensure small businesses are successful and will encourage the formation of a national monetary-credit market and the consolidation of international transactions with foreign banks and firms.

Central Asia

New Kirghiz Internal Affairs Minister Named

LD0601224791 Frunze Domestic Service in Kirghiz 1300 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] By decree of the president of the Kirghiz Republic, issued on 4 January, Comrade Kulov Feliks Sharshenbayevich was appointed minister of internal affairs of the Kirghiz Republic.

By decree of Askar Akayev, Kirghiz Republic, president, issued on 4 January, Comrade Viktor Vasilyevich Goncharov was released from his duties as minister of internal affairs of the Kirghiz Republic, in connection with his transfer to another job.

Kazakhstan's Pavlodar Oblast Elects Party Head

*LD0601195491 Alma-Ata Domestic Service
in Kazakh 1500 GMT 5 Jan 91*

[Text] A plenum of the Pavlodar Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan was held today. It examined organizational matters. Meshcheryakov was released from his duties as first secretary of the Oblast Party Committee, in connection with his transfer to another job.

Isayev was elected as first secretary of the Pavlodar Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. Prior to this he worked as chairman of the republican people's control committee. Nursultan Abish-ogly Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, spoke at the plenum. Taking part in the plenum work was Abdikarimov, candidate member of Politburo of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee and head of the Organizational Party and Cadres Work Department.

Kazakhstan, Ukraine Sign Economic Accord

*914A0243B Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 28 Nov 90 p 1*

[UKRINFORM, KAZTAG report: "The Agreement Has Been Signed"]

[Text] Kiev—An agreement was signed in Kiev on the development of economic and cultural cooperation in 1991-1995 between the governments of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and the Kazakh SSR. The chairmen of the Councils of Ministers of the two republics, V. Fokin and U. Karamanov, signed the document.

In the process of exchanging opinions on the direction of the cooperation, both sides emphasized how necessary it was for each of the republics to find a way to comply with their requirements, preserving the interests of the people of both Kazakhstan and the Ukraine, in a manner acceptable for either of the republics. They also emphasized the importance of creating a realistic mechanism to carry out the completed agreements. They specifically mentioned their main tasks: to do everything to design an economic program for 1991, to ensure stability in the people's economy of both republics, and to fill the consumer market with food products and consumer goods.

Dushanbe Curfew Lifted; Emergency Continues

*PM0301111991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2*

[Aleksandr Karpov report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Curfew Lifted"]

[Text] Dushanbe—Normal life has returned to the capital of Tajikistan. The curfew, which had been in force

for over 10 months, has been lifted by order of M. Navzhuvanov, commandant of the city and republic minister of internal affairs.

The special measure controlling the observance of public order introduced during the tragic days of February of last year has been reduced several times during that time. In recent months the curfew "operated" from 0100 hours until 0500 hours, and, it would seem, was only a formality for the city's inhabitants. Certain complexities were also connected with this; for example, nighttime entry to and exit from the city was made difficult.

The new year present from the commandant of Dushanbe to the inhabitants of the republic's capital was not made out of generosity. As the order stated, it was possible thanks to the stabilization of the situation in the city. But the state of emergency still remains. Under existing legislation it can continue for no more than one year.

Turkmen President Issues Speculation Decree

*LD0501103391 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0900 GMT 5 Jan 91*

[Text] The Turkmenian Soviet Socialist Republic president adopted a decree strengthening responsibility for speculation, illegal commercial activities, and abuse of trade. Apart from the increase of fines imposed, deprivation of freedom is envisaged for those who have broken the law twice.

Uzbekistan Agrees To Supply Food to Russia

*LD0701174691 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0700 GMT 7 Jan 91*

[Text] Our Tashkent correspondent reports: In spite of its own economic difficulties Uzbekistan does not intend to withhold its traditional assistance to the Russian nonchernozem zone. As you know, 15 years ago, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic concluded a contract under which workers from the southern republic would carry out large-scale rural construction work and improvement of marshland in Ivanovo, Vladimir, and Novgorod oblasts. During the intervening years representatives from Uzbekistan have carried out a considerable range of work which has made it possible to restore the fertility of thousands of hectares of abandoned arable land. The governments of the two republics have now agreed to continue the businesslike cooperation which has developed over the years. Over the next five years workers from Uzbekistan will carry out construction and assembly work worth more than R150 million. Under the mutually advantageous contract Russia will supply Uzbekistan with construction timber and consumer goods. Uzbekistan will supply Russia with melons, vegetables, and fruit.

Uzbekistan Legislative Newspapers Published

LD0401201691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1530 GMT 4 Jan 91

[Text] [Announcer] Copies of the new newspapers (KHAUK SUZI) and NARODNOYE SLOVO have been issued in Tashkent. These are the first legislative newspapers in Uzbekistan.

[Correspondent Sh. Ganiyeva] The newspapers are published in Uzbek and in Russian, but it needs to be said that the selection of material and articles in them is being formulated independently by two editorial boards.

All those who are interested in politics, the republic's socio-economic problems, and its cultural life will find the information they need in these daily publications. A parliamentary chronicle and a review of the day's international events will occupy a prominent position in them. [video shows newspaper titles and the newspaper production staff at work]

However, giving birth to new socio-political newspapers now, at one of the most critical points in the country's life, has by no means been easy.

[Chief editor A.G. Mukhtarov] The initiative for the creation of the republic's first legislative newspapers belongs to the people's deputies of Uzbekistan. The first editions of these newspapers were due to have been published on 1 September. However, like all the decisions adopted by our parliaments—both the Union and the republican parliaments—the decisions have not been carried out immediately.

It is with enormous difficulty that we have been surmounting these difficulties and have published the first editions of these newspapers for the new year.

I must say frankly that, wherever we turn, we have been running up against the old bureaucratic attitudes. As you know, the Soyuzpechat system has instructions and regulations that were adopted 40-50 years ago. They have provided only 8,000 copies for retail sale to an Uzbek population of 16 million. What is the size of the Russian population? They have provided 4,000 copies for retail sale to all of them. During these first days of the new year people have been continually calling and asking where they can obtain the newspapers. I think that there is a need to review the whole Soyuzpechat system.